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Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing

Chemical Weapons Talks

LD3011134288 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the prospect of concluding a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons is already clearly visible, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told newsmen here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, observed that the majority of fundamental political issues had already been agreed upon or were close to agreement at the multi-party talks in Geneva within the framework of the special committee for chemical weapons at the conference for disarmament and the Soviet-American consultations on that question.

The successful completion of the talks requires an unequivocal political solution on the part of their main parties in favour of the earliest prohibition of chemical weapons. Speaking of the continued Soviet-American full-scale talks in Geneva on limiting and terminating nuclear testing, Perfilyev said that the delegations had focused their attention on working out a protocol to the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests.

The Soviet Union maintained that "there are opportunities for completing this work before the end of this year, as agreed upon by the foreign ministers," the spokesman said.

He announced that Soviet-American consultations will be held in Moscow on December 1-2 on the question of non-proliferation of missiles and missile technology in which possibilities of cooperation in this field will be discussed.

"Obviously, there are such possibilities since both sides understand the danger of the proliferation of missiles and missile technology around the world in connection with the threat of the spread of nuclear and chemical weapons."

Perfiliyev pointed out that restrictions on the deliveries of missiles and missile technology should not have an adverse effect on international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space and meteorology, including transfers of corresponding technology.

Qian Qichen Visit

LD3011142788 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The forthcoming reciprocal visits by the Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers, Qian Qichen and Eduard Shevardnadze, reflect the desire of both countries to reach a higher level of political dialogue, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said on Wednesday.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told Soviet and foreign correspondents at a briefing here that the Chinese minister will have a busy schedule during his three-day stay in the USSR, which begins on Thursday.

Qian will be holding talks with his Soviet opposite number on a wide range of issues related to world politics and bilateral relations and will also be received by Mikhail Gorbachev, the spokesman said.

"We hope that the visit by the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China will make it possible to consolidate positive trends in the Soviet-Chinese relationship; and help to further the process of normalizing them," he continued.

"Soviet-Chinese relations are undergoing marked improvement. Bilateral contacts are increasing in number and cover practically every field of state-to-state interaction. This process is a result of mutual efforts," Perfilyev added.

He described an improvement in the bilateral relationship as a benefit to the Soviet and Chinese people working to achieve historic renewal in their countries.

He said that it is also an important part of the overall improvement in the international climate, strengthened security and broader cooperation among nations in dealing with global problems.

"We proceed from the premise that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations does no harm to either country's ties with third nations." Perfilyev said.

PRC Border Talks

LD3011162488 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Moscow November 30 TASS—We in the Soviet Union hope that the visit to the USSR of the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China Qian Qichen, which begins on Thursday, will further promote the positive tendencies in Soviet-Chinese relations and the process of their normalization, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today. He pointed out that the Soviet-Chinese relations were following an upward trend and, in practical terms, already extended to all spheres of inter-state contacts. "This process is the result of reciprocal efforts", he said.

Referring to the treaty on the boundary regime and the procedure for solving border problems, signed between the governments of Mongolia and the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that "people in the USSR wish to see further improvement in relations between the two friendly states who have common border with us, and hope that mutually-advantageous economic and cultural cooperation will develop between them." [passage omitted]

Psychiatric Hospitals

LD3011151088 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, described as "provocative" a "Voice of America" radio station report which, with reference to the U.S. Congress Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe, alleged that there were over 200 "political prisoners" in Soviet psychiatric institutions.

At today's briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre Perfilyev said that the figure was a spurious one and included names of individuals guilty of grave criminal offenses, or even non-existent individuals.

In this connection, Vadim Perfilyev said that mass media must leave it to Soviet and American physicians to deal with medical problems with medical means. He reminded that during their talks in Moscow from 9 to 12 November psychiatrists of the two countries agreed on further cooperation. U.S. psychiatrists are expected to come over to Moscow in January of next year. They will have the opportunity to see with their own eyes the true state of affairs in Soviet psychiatry.

Another step in the Soviet-American cooperation in psychiatry, the spokesman said, will be a visit by Soviet specialists to the USSR.

Attacks in Afghanistan

LD3011151488 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Afghanistan's governmental troops have carried out a number of successful attacks against the armed opposition in the area of Qandahar and in the Provinces of Farah and Herat, inflicting big losses on the rebels, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said at a news briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said groups of the armed opposition were hurriedly dispersing their arms arsenals along the Pakistani border and some of them were even taking their arms into Pakistani territory to save them from attacks of the Afghan Army.

One of such groups, operating in the south of the Khowst District, shipped its military and technical reserves to the area of Miramshah in Pakistan.

Perfilyev said the rocketing of the Afghan capital had become much less intensive. The anti-terrorism drive in Kabul has been stepped up. Forty-five people, involved in the activities of the so-called Islamic Party of Afghanistan, were arrested.

At the same time, the spokesman went on, the situation in the southern outskirts of Herat, where rebels subject to fire positions of the second security belt, remains difficult.

The situation in Nangarhar Province, bordering on Pakistan, has grown more acute.

West European Military Integration Viewed

PM3011095588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Own observer V. Pustov "Military-Political Review": "Facing a Choice"]

[Text] Political life in the world is in full swing, as they say. At present the attention of observers in Europe and beyond is focused on the working visit to the USSR of President F. Mitterrand of France and his talks with M.S. Gorbachev, which are reported in detail in the press.

It has been announced in Paris that on his return from Moscow F. Mitterrand will report to his West European partners on the results of his meetings in the Soviet capital. Following the example of Chancellor H. Kohl, so to speak, who this week continued to brief his NATO colleagues on his visit to Moscow last month.

In addition to all this, the Soviet leader's upcoming visit to America in the first half of December, his address at the UN General Assembly session, his meetings with the current and future U.S. President, and subsequent visits to Cuba and Britain are being widely previewed in the West.

The current and planned events are viewed in light of the attitude of the leaders of the European NATO countries—by no means unequivocal—and the attitude of the Western public to the changes which are taking place in the USSR and to the USSR's domestic and foreign policy. The West is not united in its opinion on these matters; it remains at a crossroads, as it were. On the one hand there is the undeniable positive impact of the Soviet peace initiatives and the new political thinking which is gaining ground in international relations. The results are obvious. For instance, according to a public opinion poll carried out on instructions by the FRG Government press department after H. Kohl's recent visit to Moscow, 68 percent of West German citizens have expressed approval of M.S. Gorbachev's policy and 63 percent favor the establishment of closer cooperation between the FRG and the USSR. Similar developments can be observed in other NATO countries. Doubts about the bloc's militarist course are being voiced increasingly loudly.

On the other hand, the champions of the position-of-strength policy are very reluctant to cede their positions. However, even they have to to take account of the growing popularity of our proposals aimed at ridding Europe of nuclear weapons and building a "common European home." Head-on anti-Sovietism no longer works; it is necessary to maneuver. The USSR's policy of restructuring, participants in the North Atlantic Assembly and Atlantic Treaty Association sessions held this November have admitted, is forcing the NATO allies to react to the current changes, which are making it necessary for them to adopt corresponding initiatives.

Under these conditions even NATO Secretary General M. Woerner deemed it preferable to assess the reforms taking place in the Soviet Union on the whole as positive and to acknowledge the need to continue talks with the Soviet Union. But having made a good start, he finished badly by trying to cast doubt on the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union along the line of: Is it perhaps just a "breathing space needed to continue the course toward achieving military superiority on a new, stronger economic basis later?" Woerner's farfetched misgivings are echoed in the speeches of U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander, Europe.

So what is the situation as regards the aforementioned "corresponding initiatives" of NATO? According to Woerner and Galvin they must not exceed the framework of the long-standing stereotypes, that is NATO's continued commitment to the "strategy of deterrence" enabling it to make use of both nuclear and conventional arms, the further buildup and modernization of these arms, and the cobbling together of a "European pillar" of NATO.

Probably the most frequently used words in NATO headquarters and offices at the moment are "compensation," "modernization," and "arms upgrading." They are being applied above all to short-range nuclear weapons, which are not affected by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. These weapons, it is being claimed, are to fill the "gap" in the NATO military structure created as a result of the elimination of U.S. and Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It has been announced that within the next few months a launch installation is to be chosen for the new, more powerful and accurate missiles which will replace the U.S. "Lance" missile, currently deployed in West Europe. In the United States the development of new missile systems has already begun. According to a report published by the newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, the adoption of a "formal decision" on the choice of the system and the number of new missiles, nuclear warheads, and launch installations will present no problems.

Awareness of the danger attending such ventures is growing in West European countries, and a movement against "compensation," "modernization," and "arms upgrading" is gathering momentum. Representatives of Belgium and the Netherlands have expressed doubts in NATO organs as to the expediency of these measures, especially in view of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course. In the FRG these plans are being condemned not only by left-wing parties and organizations, but also by many politicians from the parties which make up the government coalition. First, because this would undermine the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and would, as Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher has warned, result in a new nuclear arms race in the nineties. And that would inevitably entail a new deterioration in East-West relations which, as Chancellor H. Kohl has admitted, would have "the effect of an earthquake" on the FRG. And second, because West Germans are particularly alarmed at the prospect of their country first and foremost being turned into a battlefield for the use of short-range nuclear weapons.

Nonetheless, Bonn's official position on the question of "compensation" is becoming more and more contradictory. While rejecting the idea of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe, the West German Government is, at the same time, trying to create the impression that it is trying to put off, or at least is in no hurry to adopt, a decision on the deployment of new tactical, extended-range (up to 500 km) nuclear missiles. However, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, following the federal chancellor's latest U.S. visit and his talks in the White House, one ranking FRG representative, who asked to remain anonymous, said that the West German Government would be ready to back proposals for the deployment on the country's territory of the updated version of the "Lance" missile and one of the new "air-to-surface" missiles, provided NATO agrees to eliminate or reduce the nuclear artillery arsenal. Readiness for such a swap of quantity for quality looks strange, to say the least. After all, the question of the inadequacy of NATO's nuclear artillery due to its short range—20-30 km—is already under discussion in NATO.

The adoption of a final decision on all these questions is expected in the coming year—1989—probably at the NATO Council heads of state and government session. According to the Atlanticists' opinion, it will be easier to call the alliance's refractory members "to heel" in the year of the bloc's 40th anniversary.

Meanwhile, on both sides of the Atlantic a process of "clarification of relations" inside the alliance in accordance with the changing situation in the world is under way. The United States is worried about preserving its leadership, notably in the sphere of strategic objectives. In addition to the strategy of "flexible response" and the "follow-on forces attack" concept handed down to NATO earlier, the Pentagon has elaborated a new concept. It is referred to as "strategies of rivalry" [strategii konkurentsii]. According to NEWSWEEK magazine it envisages a "specific type of nonnuclear war based on the use of sophisticated hardware with almost unbelievable rapid action, surprise effect, and destructive power." It is based on military hardware in the sphere of which, NEWSWEEK claims, the West has "a substantial lead." Much is being said and written in the West, and especially in the United States, about the priority development of new types of conventional arms which could be used to tackle tasks currently assigned to nuclear weapons.

The U.S. European allies are not sitting about idly either. Aware of the growth of their economic and military might, they are making efforts—relatively timid efforts, so far—to add weight to their military policy and to restrict U.S. supremacy as far as possible. In this context the view expressed by A. Dregger, prominent West German politician and chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] Bundestag faction, is illustrative. It is not essential for the post of NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, to be held by a U.S. officer. It could be filled by a representative of one of the West European countries since their contribution to the alliance's military might accounts for 90 percent of the artillery, 80 percent of tanks and aircraft, 65 percent of warships, and so forth. Interestingly, the candidate for this post would, in Dregger's words, be proposed by the Western European Union (WEU).

Of late there has been more and more persistent talk in the West about the probable enhancement of the role of this military-political grouping made up of Belgium, Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, France, the FRG, and lately also Spain and Portugal. It is true that the main members of the WEU do not entirely see eye-to-eye as regards its mission. In Paris, for instance, the revitalization of WEU activities is viewed as preparation for the creation in the nineties of the so-called "European pillar of the defense system" (with the United States viewed as the other pillar). The implementation of this plan presupposes, for instance, the organization of cooperation in the manufacture of missiles, helicopters, radar stations, and electronic equipment, and exchanges of experience in the implementation of the "Rafale" project for building the French fighter aircraft of the future and the EFA [European Fighter Aircraft] of the nineties, and so forth.

For London, which is constantly emphasizing its "special relationship" with Washington, the WEU may be no more than a "European pillar" of NATO. Bonn, too, is stressing its commitment to the North Atlantic Alliance. At the same time it is leaning toward military cooperation with France which has already found its expression in the decision to set up a joint "defense and security council" and a joint brigade. Chancellor H. Kohl, who refers to Franco-West German cooperation as the "motor which propels the efforts to build Europe," does not rule out the possibility of the formation of a "European Army" in the future.

The heralds of the WEU are unstinting in their professions of love of peace. Time will tell whether this union will be able, in the conditions of the new climate, to play its part in ensuring security in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Or whether, on the contrary, it will become one of the main levers of military-political integration processes which are likely to lead to a deepening of the split in our continent.

Cooperation in implementing peaceful programs rather than in building up and improving lethal means, be they nuclear or conventional—this is what is in the peoples' interests. Europe cannot stand still at the crossroad from which one road leads in a direction that is fraught with danger for mankind.

Appreciation Expressed for GOSR Greetings

*PM2811171588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Undated USSR leadership bodies' message of gratitude for October Revolution anniversary greetings: "Gratitude for Congratulations"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers received numerous congratulations and greetings from Soviet and foreign citizens, labor collectives, state and public organizations, Soviet Army and Navy servicemen, foreign parties, movements, and governments in connection with the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In their letters and telegrams Soviet people voice support for the policy of the 27th Congress and 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU and emphasize the profound link between the restructuring under way in the country and the ideas of October. At the same time concern is expressed at the negative phenomena in social development. The need for consistent implementation of the transformations which have begun is also noted.

The greetings which came from abroad attest to the great international public interest in our restructuring and in the new political thinking founded on the priority of values common to all mankind and on recognition of the right of every people to freedom of choice. The Soviet foreign policy aimed at ensuring peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different systems is receiving ever greater recognition.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers express profound gratitude and appreciation to everyone for the congratulations and good wishes in connection with the 71st anniversary of October. The Soviet country will continue to travel the path of revolutionary restructuring, creation, and peace.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee; USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; USSR Council of Ministers

Church Leaders' Meeting Discusses World Issues

PM3011162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unnamed TASS correspondent's report: "With Concern for the World's Future"]

[Text] Kislovodsk (Stavropol Kray), 29 Nov—The 9-day international consultative meeting of the World Council of Churches "Faith and Church Structure" commission ended here with a festive divine service in Kislovodsk's Krestovozdvizhenskiy Cathedral. Russian Orthodox Church theologians and representatives of Christian churches from 14 countries on four continents took part in the debates and exchanges of opinions.

The meeting's attention focused mainly on the problems of delivering people from everything that oppresses them, inculcating a respectful attitude in every member of any social formation, consolidating peace, solving any emerging international conflicts around the negotiating table, and opposing racism and international enmity.

The participants in the meeting went on a familiarization tour of Stavropol, conversed with deputies from the Stavropol Kray and Pyatigorsk City soviets and with aktiv members of the kray Committee for the Defense of Peace and the Stavropol House of Peoples' Friendship, and met believers and members of the clergy in different cities and villages in the kray. They also visited the construction sites of new churches in honor of the millennium of Russia's baptism in Zheleznovodsk and Nevinnomyssk.

Symposium on Law of Sea Opens in Moscow

LD2811114688 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Anatoliy Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Law of the Sea Association, has gone on record for the continuation of a constructive Soviet-American dialogue. He took the floor at the first bilateral symposium on the Law of the Sea, which opened in Moscow today. The meeting is sponsored by the Soviet Law of the Sea Association and the Soviet Peace Fund jointly with the American Law of the Sea Association and the U.S. Law of the Sea Institute. It is attended also by representatives of Poland, Bulgaria, GDR, Great Britain, FRG and several other countries, who were invited to the symposium.

"Both countries," Professor Kolodkin noted, "cooperate actively in oceanographic research, in saving lives and rendering assistance at sea, in the protection of marine fauna. The symposium will give us a chance to bring out everything that reflects our common interests in exploring and using the world ocean, will also help us to remove the existing differences."

The symposium will consider the possibility of ensuring the most favourable legal conditions for the thorough exploration and exploitation of the world ocean, legal problems related to merchant shipping and fishing, protection and preservation of the marine environment.

At the same time, Anatoliy Kolodkin continued, it is clear to all that rational use of the world marine resources in the interests of all nations is impossible without a lasting peace and security on the seas and oceans of the planet. This is why the corresponding Soviet peace initiatives are of such top priority. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union had repeatedly expressed readiness to cooperate with all other states in ensuring the safety of sea communications, had come out against international terrorism, piracy and other violent and illegal actions.

Taking the floor at the opening of the symposium, Thomas Klingan, president of the U.S. Law of the Sea Institute, Richard Palmer, president of the American Law of the Sea Association, and other speakers expressed their conviction that the symposium would be businesslike and frank, would serve to approximate views on pressing questions of strengthening law and order in the world ocean.

United States & Canada

Shultz Welcomes Upcoming Gorbachev Visit
LD3011233488 Moscow TASS in English 2317 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Washington December 1 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in an appearance on the USIA Worldnet Television Network, welcomed the forthcoming arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in New York to attend the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

We are delighted that Mr Gorbachev will be in New York. And since he is coming, the President was very pleased that he has accepted an invitation to a long working luncheon and that's what it will be. And I am sure there will be a lot of substantive discussion during it. And we welcome that, Mr Shultz said.

"I suppose any time the general secretary of the Soviet Union were to meet the President and the President-elect of the United States, it's a meeting at the summit", Mr. Shultz added.

"On the other hand", the U.S. secretary of state said, "it's not the same kind of meeting as the ones we've had in Geneva or Reykjavik, or Washington, or Moscow."

Marlin Fitzwater, official spokesman for the White House, has said at a briefing that the most important aim of the forthcoming meeting is to discuss the state of relations between the two powers and to analyze the historic changes that have taken place over the past three years.

Through this meeting the administration wants to emphasize the maintenance of continuity, the spokesman said.

Decision on 'Arafat Visa 'Blow to U.S. Prestige'
PM3011143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy dispatch: "Blow to U.S. Prestige"]

[Text] New York—Representatives of Arab countries at the United Nations have held a meeting, after which it was announced that the United States had 48 hours to review its decision on the refusal to grant an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who intended to address the UN General Assembly session in New York. If the United States does not change its stance, K. Maqsud, Arab League representative at the United Nations, announced at a news conference, the proposal to move the discussion of the Palestinian question to the UN European headquarters in Geneva will be put to a vote. The discussion could take place in mid-December or mid-January.

An emergency session of the UN committee dealing with ties with the host country was also held. Almost all the delegates who took the floor denounced the U.S. State Department decision and pointed out that it is in no way compatible with the obligations adopted by the United States when it signed the agreement with the United Nations in 1947. Even countries like France, Spain, Britain, and Canada were not on the U.S. side. The representatives of these and other states said that the United States is essentially trying to deprive Y. 'Arafat of the opportunity to address the international community and to expound the aims and tasks of the Palestinian state, which was proclaimed at the recent session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers. Patricia Byrne, the U.S. representative, again repeated the theory that her government does not issue visas to people who support terrorism. C.A. Fleischhauer, an official UN legal consultant, replied that this kind of explanation is totally unconvincing from the legal viewpoint and cannot serve as a serious reason for the U.S. violation of its adopted commitments.

U.S. State Department spokesman C. Redman stated at a news conference that the U.S. decision is "firm and final." He also pointed out that, should the debate on the Palestinian question be moved to Europe, the U.S. delegation will take part in it. Assessing the situation that has taken shape, CNN television news network commentator F. Allen noted that U.S. attempts to decide for the international community who should speak at the United Nations on behalf of the Palestinian people have dealt a serious blow to U.S. prestige both in UN circles and throughout the world.

PRAVDA Profiles James Baker, Brent Scowcroft
PM2911100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Reports from New York and Washington by own correspondents V. Linnik and V. Gan under the rubric "Echo of Events: Rumors and Facts": "The First Appointments. G. Bush Chooses His Team"]

[Text] Having been rather rapid from the outset, the "changing of the guard" process in Washington is reaching its peak. In the period since the election, U.S. President-elect George Bush has made nine appointments to key posts in his administration.

New York—The first candidate named by G. Bush for membership of the future administration was James Baker, leader of his election campaign, whom the next U.S. President wants to see as his secretary of state. The announcenemnt was expected, although not so soon.

Baker, a 58-year-old Texan, feels more than confident in the Washington corridors of power. In R. Reagan's first presidential term he was White House chief of staff; for the past 3 years and a bit he has been U.S. treasury secretary.

Baker was born into the American elite. His great-grandfather was the founder of the "Baker and Botts" law firm, which is still one of the biggest in the United States. After graduation from Princeton University he served in the Marines for 2 years and then worked as a lawyer. He became involved in politics in 1970 when Republican G. Bush took Baker—then a Democrat—on as one of the leaders of his campaign for election to the U.S. Senate. It was the start of a long and, to all appearances, very strong personal relationship between Bush and Baker. But the two Texans' political debut was unsuccessful—Bush lost that election.

But his services were rewarded: Baker became under secretary of commerce in the Ford administration on Bush's recommendation. In the 1976 presidential campaign Baker was manager of the Ford election campaign. Four years on he was head of the G. Bush presidential campaign. Thus, both in 1976 and in 1980 Baker was in the ranks of the Republican opposition to the current President, Reagan—also a former Democrat, incidentally.

Despite that and despite the fact that both campaigns led by Baker had ended in defeat, Reagan invited him to join him as White House chief of staff.

By switching to the post of treasury secretary in Reagan's second term, Baker luckily avoided involvement in "Irangate." Although Baker's activity in his new post cannot be considered entirely successful, because, as the country's chief treasurer, he bears responsibility, of course, for the record U.S. budget and trade deficits.

Baker lacks solid foreign policy experience and special knowledge of the nuances and subtleties of contemporary international relations and disarmament problems. But, it is believed here, he easily makes up for these shortcomings with his exceptional abilities as a born diplomat and his gift of settling conflicts and getting his own way in talks with all manner of partners. "I suppose J. Baker, from the professional viewpoint, is more suited to the post of secretary of state than the other potential candidates," R. Strauss, former chairman of the Democratic Party National Committee, said. "He has the gift of being able to get people together," J. Miller, former director of the Office of Management and Budget, echoed him.

There have been different reactions. The magazine NEW REPUBLIC described Baker in highly critical terms, as the man with the "most inflated reputation in Washington." When Dukakis was asked to comment on the appointment of Baker, who had conducted against him, as the U.S. press acknowledged, the dirtiest political campaign in recent U.S. history, the governor of Massachusetts replied, to the amusement of his audience: "I believe in the redemption of the soul."

But both Baker's supporters and his opponnents agree on one thing: He is extremely close to the new President, and in this situation any national security assistant to Bush will play a secondary role when it comes to making very important foreign policy decisions.

Washington—Recently elected 41st President of the United States George Bush has announced his decision to appoint retired Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft as his national security adviser.

The appointment was no surprise. Although Bush had repeatedly promised to "bring a completely new team into the administration," he again opted for a veteran of Washington political battles, who has figured throughout the recent period as a leading contender for this important post in the U.S. national security apparatus. The 63-year-old Scowcroft had the post before, under President Ford, enjoying the protection of the then Secretary of State Kissinger.

The record of this man who feels at home in the Washington corridors of power is pretty impressive. After graduation from the military academy at West Point, Scowcroft served in the U.S. Armed Forces and taught at Pentagon educational establishments. His military political career took off in the early seventies: Military adviser to President Nixon, his deputy assistant for national security, President Ford's national security assistant, and member of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency consultative committee under President Carter. The Reagan administration, now quitting the scene, has also employed Scowcroft's services on several occasions, paying tribute to his knowledge in the sphere of military and foreign policy. In particular, he headed the strategic forces commission, which elaborated recommendations on ways of basing MX ICBMs, and was also a member of the commission to investigate the National Security Council's activity in connection with the "Iran-Contra" scandal.

Of late Scowcroft has been Bush's unofficial adviser. Anyone's biography is interesting, of course, but this is not what counts in the end. What counts is the views that a particular person has accumulated at a given moment.

Scowcroft supports the original interpretation of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty, he is opposed to the deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles, and in general favors the arms control process. On the other hand, he was one of the people behind the creation of the Midgetman ICBM, he criticized the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and advocated the "position of strength" policy. As for his stance on SDI, it is also ambiguous. Scowcroft believes that the

"Strategic Defense Initiative" in the form proposed by Reagan is "impossible." But he is in favor of the United States' using SDI as a "trump card" in negotiations with the USSR.

Carlucci Speech on 'Soviet Threat' Cited

PM3011113388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "F. Carlucci Speech"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Nov—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci has addressed an international symposium in the U.S. capital devoted to the upcoming 40th anniversary of the NATO bloc.

Expressing the view that throughout the past 4 decades NATO has operated successfully, the Pentagon leader said:. "We must plan an agenda that will contribute to strengthening peace and stability and reducing the level of armaments." But practically the entire remainder of the U.S. defense secretary's "platform" speech was devoted to urging the U.S. NATO allies to strengthen the bloc's military machine, build up and modernize armaments, and increase expenditure on military purposes, in order to "withstand the Soviet threat."

Heritage Foundation's Publication Criticized

PM3011165988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Single Edition p 5

[M. Knyazkov "Rejoinder": "By the Old Clock"]

[Text] One gets the impression that the clock has stopped in the building not far from Capitol Hill that houses the so-called "Heritage Foundation." And not 5 minutes ago, but about 40 years ago.

Indeed, the hefty report that has just been published by this "brain trust," which considers itself the mouthpiece not merely of conservative Amnerica, but of its right, most radically minded wing, would have been applauded in the times of Churchill's Fulton speech.

This fat volume, running to a thousand pages, is called "A Mandate for Leadership." And it is addressed to none other than the man who has just been elected President of the United States, George Bush.

When you leaf through the fat tome, your mind drifts back to the worst times of the cold war era, when the United States was seriously contemplating a nuclear attack on the USSR and when the U.S. CIA was devising one subversive operation after another against the Soviet land, for the purpose of eliminating the social system there. So, first of all, the "Heritage Foundation" recommends the next U.S. President to accept the so-called "liberation doctrine."

In this connection, the "heirs" call upon the White House to set up a so-called "resistance support fund" of $1 billion (!) and use money from it to expand the output of the subversive Radio Liberty and the smuggling of subversive literature into the USSR and other socialist countries.

It is noteworthy that the authors of the document pin their hopes of success in their, frankly, fantastic plan on certain events in the Soviet Transcaucasus and Baltic area—and they are quite open about this. It is proposed to transfer money from the "resistance support fund," in particular, to the organizers of extremist actions in these areas, whom certain people in Washington have evidently already adopted as their own.

Maybe one should not pay so much attention to this creation. After all, the "Heritage Foundation" is really only a private "idea factory" and its recommendations are not binding on anyone. That is so. But you cannot help noticing that during the years of the Reagan administration the foundation's advice has probably been heeded more often than anyone else's.

USSR, U.S. Specialists Discuss Macroeconomics

PM3011120788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 3

[M. Aleksandrov report: "USSR-United States: Dialogue of Economists"]

[Text] Moscow—Leading Soviet and U.S. scientists—economists and specialists in industry and business—are discussing in Moscow potential trends and problems concerning the development of the Soviet and U.S. economies in the next decade.

"Both the Soviet and U.S. economies are now faced with complex problems that await a solution," said Academician G. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "Each of our countries has its own specific features. However, many problems can be solved by joint efforts on the part of the two countries' scientists.

"While developing different socioeconomic systems," the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences went on, "we live in an interconnected world, and as the leading countries in the world we bear moral responsibility for the fate of the world, for developing economic ties, scientific and technical progress, and new technologies, and for the state of our world and the ecological balance."

Academician G. Marchuk expressed the hope that the extensive exchange of ideas and opinions will help the understanding of numerous and complex phenomena and give another boost to increased Soviet-U.S. scientific contacts. He proposed holding such symposiums on a permanent basis once a year alternately in the USSR and the United States.

Welcoming the symposium participants, Academician K. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the A.A. Blagonravov Machine Science Institute, stressed the deep interconnection that exists between modern technological breakthroughs and economic problems.

Dr Marina Whitman, leader of the U.S. delegation and vice president of General Motors, thanked the symposium organizers and expressed her confidence that its work will help increase mutual understanding and exert a beneficial influence on the expansion of scientific and practical contacts between our countries.

"Great changes are taking place not only in the Soviet economy but in the U.S. economy too," M. Whitman observed. "I see certain parallels in the problems and tasks facing U.S. and Soviet scientists and specialists. We both have to decide what changes to carry out in the economy, what strategy to adopt, and what priorities to set. We have been very interested to learn how restructuring is taking place in your country."

The 28 November morning session heard a paper entitled "The Soviet Economy: Modernization and Reforms of the National Economy" by Academician L. Abalkin and a paper entitled "Economic Growth and Changes in the United States. Problems for Discussion" by Dr M. Whitman.

Chess Champion Comments on Player's Elopement

PM2911142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[L. Lebedev report under the "Details" rubric: "Love or Checkmate"]

[Text] Tension in the women's tournament at the World Chess Olympics in Salonika is at its height. Only one round now remains before the end of the contest and the main contenders—the Soviet and Hungarian teams—are level. Both have 31 points after the Soviet chess players beat the Cubans 2:1 and the Hungarians beat the Americans 2 and ½ to ½ in the 13th round.

There is naturally now lively discussion as to whether Yelena Akhmylovskaya's unexpected departure on honeymoon with American chessplayer John Donaldson will affect the Soviet national team.

"And how does our team regard this?"—was the first question I asked when I got through to Salonika and heard world champion Gary Kasparov's voice at the other end of the line.

"How?" he repeated. "Everyone differently. I think that everyone is at liberty to choose their own destiny for themselves. The only thing is that the manner of departure could, in my view, have been different—there is no need nowadays for all this to have been kept a deep secret. And she could happily have played through to the end...."

"But what prompted her to so hastily abandon the team with four rounds left?"

"According to American team members, Akhmylovskaya and Donaldson had decided on their future long ago but intended to announce it only after the Olympics, when they were on their honeymoon, to preclude any attempts to thwart their plans. But their plans were upset—do you know by what?—by journalistic doggedness. A Greek journalist got wind of something and began 'digging'... So they left the Olympics somewhat more quickly...."

What a thing to happen at the chess Olympics. We will not ask whether love or chess is more important. Indeed, the question did not arise. It seems that romance played little part in the young people's "secret elopement." It was a surprise not only to our team but to Akhlymovskaya's daughter from her first marriage, who is waiting for her at home.

So the Soviet women's team still has to undergo the culmination of its struggle in the final match while our men's team has already secured its victory in the Olympics, on which I congratulated Gary Kasparov. In the penultimate round, when our team played the Bulgarians, he beat Georgiyev and Belyavskiy beat Inkov, which secured the Soviet national team a 2-point advantage—3:1.

China

Reportage, Commentary on Qian Qichen Visit

Qian Qichen Departs for Moscow

LD0112041288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0343 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (TASS)—At the invitation of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen left Beijing for Moscow on a 3-day official visit. This is the first USSR visit by a PRC foreign policy department head since 1957.

"In the opinion of both sides, conditions are becoming ripe for holding a bilateral summit. My present visit to the USSR and the forthcoming return visit by the USSR foreign minister to China are being conducted as preparations for this meeting," Qian Qichen stated before departure. He was replying to questions from journalists. He said the main theme of the talks in Moscow would be the continuation of the discussion of the problem of Cambodia. The sides will review a broad range of questions of bilateral relations.

In a short statement for the press, the Chinese minister stressed that the main aim of his visit was to deepen mutual understanding and promote the normalization of relations between thbe USSR and the PRC. He expressed the hope that the visit would be successful.

Arrives in Moscow

OW0112082288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen arrived in Moscow for a visit this morning.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said: Now, Soviet-Chinese relations are improving. This helps the stabilization of the overall international situation. The Soviet Union believes that the Chinese foreign minister's visit will be conducive to the all-around normalization of bilateral relations. The Soviet position in this regard is that the normalization of relations should not harm these big neighboring countries' respective relations with third countries. The question of a summit will be an important part of the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, and both the Soviet and Chinese sides have expressed a willingness to strive toward this end. In addition, it has been announced that Gorbachev will receive Qian Qichen during his current visit to Moscow.

Met by Shevardnadze

LD0112101388 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR.

Qian was welcomed at the local Sheremetyevo-2 Airport by Shevardnadze and other officials.

Visit to Advance Normalization

LD0112055888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Today, the official visit to our country by PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen begins.

A noticeable improvement is taking place in the relations between the USSR and the PRC. Bilateral relations are increasingly developing and already involve practically all spheres of interstate contact. The visit by the PRC minister of foreign affairs will not only allow the positive tendencies to be strengthened, but will also help the process of full normalization of bilateral relations to be carried further. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze will make a reciprocal visit to the PRC at the beginning of next year.

Foreign Ministry Official on Visit

OW0112114088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Listeners and friends: Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen is to begin his formal visit to the Soviet Union on 1 December. His visit and the coming reciprocal visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze clearly indicate that the two countries hope to hold still higher level political dialogues.

This was pointed out by Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Administration of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, at a news conference in Moscow. Giving details of Qian Qichen's visit to the USSR, he said:

[Begin Perfilyev recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] During his 3-day visit in Moscow, Qian Qichen will have a busy schedule. According to the schedule, the foreign ministers of the two countries will hold talks to discuss a wide range of issues on world politics and bilateral relations. Soviet leader Gorbachev will receive Qian Qichen. It is hoped that the Chinese foreign minister's visit will consolidate the positive trend in Soviet-Chinese relations and help to further the process of an all-around normalization of relations between the two countries.

Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Administration of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, continued to talk about the recent main trend in Soviet-Chinese relations. He said: Soviet-Chinese relations are undergoing marked improvement. Bilateral contacts are increasing and have in fact touched all areas of state-to-state interactions. This is a result of the efforts of both sides. An improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations will no doubt benefit the Soviet and Chinese people who are engaged in realizing the historical missions of their own countries. At the same time, the process also represents a general improvement in international security and is an important component of the process of expanding cooperation among all nations in dealing with problems of concern to all mankind.

At the Moscow news conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents, the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said: Our position is that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations does no harm to either country's ties with other nations.

Ivanov Comments

LD3011123988 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 30 Nov 88

["Focus on Asia and the Pacific" feature]

[Excerpts] For the first time in the past 20 years, a high-level Chinese delegation arrives for talks in Moscow. The foreign minister of China, Qian Qichen, intends to visit the Soviet Union on the 1st to the 3d next month. Oleg Ivanov of our staff has contributed this comment:

The coming talks of Qian Qichen with his Soviet colleague Eduard Shevardnadze will be the first of the two planned meetings devoted to bilateral relations. As Edward Shevardnadze said in an IZVESTIYA interview, the central issue of his talks with the Chinese minister will be that of a likely meeting in the first half of next year between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping.

Such an agenda shows that the two countries have made considerable progress in their dialogue. Their negotiations on border problems have been steady and productive. Economic cooperation and cultural exchanges are becoming broader. Contacts between the public have become more intensive. All this indicates that there exists a real opportunity to fully normalize Soviet-Chinese relations and lend them stable and constructive character in the near future.

Eduard Shevardnadze describes this process as an exceptionally important part of a general process toward improving the political climate in the world and expanding cooperation among all the states in the solution of global problems. Observers in Asia on the whole share this point of view. For example, it has been noted that the Soviet Union and China can contribute to the soluiton of such a key problem as nuclear disarmament. It is also being said that the two countries have supported the proclamation of the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, and signed corresponding protocols to the Rarotonga Treaty. The importance is being emphasized of Soviet-Chinese contacts for regional settlement, including in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the tendency toward improvement in the Soviet-Chinese relations has raised quite a few questions in the region. Does it mean a change in Moscow's priorities in its Asian policy? Will it not lessen the share of Soviet cooperation with other partners in Asia, India for one? Speaking in this context, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that assisting in policy from a balance-of-strength point of view, which in the event of an improvement in relations between two countries inevitably means a loss for a third country, has become outdated practice. We proceed from the assumption, the Soviet minister went on to say, that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations should not cause any damage to the contacts of the Soviet Union or China with third countries. [passage omitted]

But there's one more factor worth mentioning with regard to relations between the Soviet Union, India, and China. A whole number of independent political centers affecting the general political picture in the region are being formed in Asia. Unless signals coming from these centers are taken into account, it is impossible to talk seriously about the solution of major problems, including comprehensive security in Asia. [passage omitted]

'Common Desire' for Dialogue

LD2911174988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] As you probably know already, the PRC foreign minister arrives in our country on an official visit on 1 December. Matters concerning the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, as well as international problems, will be discussed in Moscow. Then USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will make a trip to Beijing.

The exchange of official visits reflects the desire for full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Of course, the fact that a summit meeting between the leaders of China and the USSR will be discussed during the conversations with the Chinese minister in Moscow is attracting particular attention. At the start of November, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping could meet in the first half of the coming year. During his visit to India, Comrade Gorbachev said that a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was evidently not so far off. So, judging by all accounts, both we and the Chinese have a common desire for active dialogue, a desire to move to a higher level of political communication.

Commentary Wishes Talks' Success

OW0112101888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[(Wang Xiao) commentary]

[Text] On the eve of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union, RENMIN RIBAO ran excerpts of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevarnadze's interview with IZVESTIYA. It quoted him as saying: The Soviet Union and China are two great powers in the world and both are permanent members of the UN Security Council. In this respect, they share responsibilities for the solution of many major international problems. RENMIN RIBAO also cited another part of Comrade Shevarnadze's remarks on the holding of a high-level Soviet-Chinese meeting favored by both sides, which is going to be the focal point at the upcoming Moscow talks.

Listeners, I can assure you that Soviet people are greatly interested in and enthusiastic about the new and positive development in the Soviet-Chinese relationship. We hope that the Soviet-Chinese talks beginning 1 December will achieve good results.

In other countries, there are many discussions on the meaning of the talks. For instance both (MINGZU) BAO and the BANGKOK POST of Thailand pointed out that the current state of Soviet-Chinese political dialogue has a particularly great bearing on the solution of the Cambodian problem. Observers in other Asian-Pacific nations also noted the significance of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue in enhancing not only the mutual trust between the Soviet Union and China but among the nations in the entire Asian-Pacific region.

Normalization Important

OW0112104488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Kaverznev commentary]

[Text] Friends: Today Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has begun a 3-day official visit to the Soviet Union. We workers of the Chinese-Language Editorial Department of Radio Moscow, like all other Soviet people across the country, are following with interest the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. In particular, one of my colleages, commentator Kaverznev, has professional interest in this regard. On the eve of Qian Qichen's visit, he gathered some statements made by Soviet and Chinese official representatives on the question of relations between the two sides and wrote a short commentary, which reads:

First of all, I wish to refer to a statement made by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to IZVESTIYA and published in Moscow on 24 November. The Soviet foreign minister said he thinks that the purpose of his talks with Qian Qichen is to make a successful all-round political dialogue between the Soviet Union and China, a historical dialogue of friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between the two big socialist countries. The question of a summit meeting, Shevardnadze said, will be the central theme of his talks with the Chinese foreign minister. He pointed out that Comrade Gorbachev will receive Qian Qichen.

In his statement to IZVESTIYA, Shevardnadze paid great attention to economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and China and the fruitful results and prospects of Soviet-Chinese political consultations at the deputy foreign ministerial level.

Shevardnadze talked in detail about the border negotiations between the two sides. He stressed that in the course of border negotiations during the past 3 years, the two sides have carried out constructive cooperation, and accordingly it is hopeful that an agreement acceptable to both sides will be reached.

I have noted that on the same day, 24 November, when Shevardnadze's statement was published in Moscow, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Jinhua issued a statement in Beijing on the visit of Chinese foreign minister. Dear listeners, as you may recall, Li Jinhua said at that time that if progress is made in settling the Cambodian conflict, China will agree to hold a summit in the near future. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Cambodian conflict will be the main issue to be discussed during the talks between Qian Qichen and Shevardnadze in Moscow.

Within this week, XINHUA has pointed out that apart from the Cambodian issue, other questions will be discussed in Moscow.

I hope that both the Soviet and Chinese sides expect to see the success of the talks between the two foreign ministers. This is because the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is not only in line with the interests of the people of the two countries, but also conforms to the interests of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. The two big socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China, both shoulder an exceptionally heavy responsibility for the security of this region. There is no doubt at all that all other countries in the world wish to see the successful conclusion of the Soviet-Chinese talks because the normalization of the relations between the two countries is an extremely important integral part of the improvement of the overall international situation.

Station Observer's Commentary

OW2911194688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Mulatov: "A Dialogue That Benefits All Parties Concerned"]

[Text] Political observers in Asia and other parts of the world hold that Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union is going to be one of this week's most important political events. Please listen to the following short commentary by station observer Mulatov in this connection, entitled: A Dialogue That Benefits All Parties Concerned.

I believe that the Soviet and Chinese people are aware to varying degrees of the benefits high-level Soviet-Chinese political dialogue would have for our two nations. Public opinion on both sides has created an atmosphere that is most favorable, friendly, and serious toward the coming meeting.

Answering the questions raised by IZVESTIYA editors last week, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze accurately and clearly explained why the Soviet people have closely watched the progression of the gradual improvement in relations between our two nations with great interest and approval. Comrade Shevarnadze said the geographical cause is that through many generations the two peoples have come to realize that they are like brothers in spirit and share similar views on the purpose and ideal of life. I would like to emphasize these remarks.

One more thought: No matter how the political climate changes the wish for friendship and cooperation in the hearts of Soviet and Chinese people has never changed. I believe exactly these factors make the two peoples unwaveringly support their leaderships' decision to make concessions to each other so as to achieve comprehensive normalization of the two nations' relations. All in all, the significance to the Soviet Union and China, as well as their peoples, of the Soviet-Chinese foreign ministerial talks beginning on 1 December, which will pave the way for a high-level summit, is obvious and indisputable.

The dialogue will undoubtedly cause widespread repercussions around the world. The attitude toward the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relationship varies in Asia and the whole world [words indistinct]. The reactions are not all cheerful in some nations, which is no secret anyway. By no means secret, indeed: As recently as a few days ago RENMIN RIBAO wrote that the prospect of a high-level Soviet-Chinese meeting worries some people. What can we [word indistinct] this? Both the Soviet Union and China have offered authoritative explanations on the subject: Any fears that improved Soviet-Chinese relations may hurt other countries are unnecessary and totally groundless. In other words, no country—be it socialist, developing, or capitalist; be it in East, West, North, or South—will be harmed by the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Moreover, a Soviet-Chinese dialogue that addresses the pressing problems in the Asia-Pacific region and the world situation will be beneficial to all. I think those who are skeptical or apprehensive can rest assured about this.

In conclusion, I would like to cite another of the Soviet foreign minister's remarks. In answering IZVESTIYA's questions he emphasized that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is a very important step forward in improving world situation, strengthening security, solving global problems, and expanding and intensifying international cooperation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Assesses U Nu's Political Career

BK2711093588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "A Life That Reflects History"]

[Text] Almost everyone is commenting on how very few leaders there are in the mass movement in Burma. Although the situation allows for a multitude of political parties being set up to strive for public recognition, leaders still remain scarce. I believe there are reasons for this. A new generation has grown up in the many years that the whole country has been in a deep slumber. This generation is not skilled in political debate and discussion, and there is still a need for it to search for and create leaders. However, there are some personages within the opposition groups—people who appear to have come back from our forgotten past. U Nu is one such person.

U Nu returned from abroad under the 1980 amnesty, when he declared that he will spend the rest of his life meditating and writing Buddhist texts. After a trying and exhausting exile abroad, U Nu wanted to live in peace and to work at the Buddhist Studies Library. He genuinely gave up his plans to take revenge against those responsible for making a former prime minister out of him—a prime minister. It was not an easy undertaking, and his age showed. Hence, the reemergence of U Nu in the political scene in August this year came as a complete surprise for the majority of the Burmese people. The elderly people are therefore recounting U Nu's life and his days as a youth.

U Nu became one of the leaders in a patriotic movement in Burma while he was a university student. He was the right-hand man, a friend, and a colleague of famous persons, such as General Aung San, U Kyaw Nyein, Rashid, Thakin Kyaw Tun, and Thakin Mya. During the time of the second university strike, he served as the editor of a progressive journal, "OH-WAI," and together with U Aung San, wrote articles opposing colonial systems in the Rangoon University. They were both expelled from the university. I believe their lives took separate paths from this point.

While Aung San became a general and famous as a revolutionary leader who took up arms in fighting the Japanese and the colonial system, U Nu took a middle path, and this was reflected in both his speeches and actions. He is a man of promise. U Nu, who became a Thakin [nationalist title meaning master] while still young following the merger of the student movement with the Do-Bama movement, was more interested in writing than participating in the political struggle. He has always been religious, and, probably because of this, he often played the role of a mediator in disputes between antagonistic groups.

Even after he became a leader of a Fabian group which split from the Do-Bama Organization in 1936, U Nu tried in various ways to reconcile this group and the Thakin group. U Nu's political views emerged against this background of political turmoil and antagonisms. According to historians, in 1935 the British tried to divide those waging the struggle for Burma's independence by using the colonial constitution. In those times, the ideologies of the patriots, including that of the Thakins, were varied, and this factor may have perhaps influenced U Nu's views.

U Nu, who organized the progressive Nagani Literary Group and translated extracts of Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," upheld rightist tenets when he became a prime minister. He submitted at the conference of the Do-Bama Organization in 1940 the resolution of the Thakins who said they were ready to cooperate with the British if they gave independence to Burma. At his historic speech at the Jubilee Hall, he announced the declaration of the Bama Htwet-ya group. He was jailed for his political activity. When the Japanese occupied Burma, U Nu himself wrote in his memoirs that he was solely occupied with his thoughts of leaving the jail as soon as possible.

Whatever the reason, by the time Burma gained independence, U Nu had become a well recognized political figure in Burma. He also had become known as a person capable of mediating among the leaders with opposing ideological views. Such a person, it appears, was needed after Gen Aung San and his colleagues were betrayed and assassinated. U Nu was not present at that sad meeting because he was ill on that particular day.

It has become a point to ponder today as to whether U Nu, who became the prime minister of independent Burma, was able to discharge his duties. Why wasn't he able to avoid the military coup which overthrew him? Such questions will not be easy to answer.

The first point to note was that the parliamentary democracy which was practiced then was imported from England. Those sitting in the Parliament represented, mainly, the landlords and entrepreneurs and members of the parliament were their political lawyers. They were very passionate in delivering speeches. However, very little of the common people's interests was reflected in this beautiful oratory. Moreover, the plans like Pyidawwtha Plan were idealistic not pragmatic. It was like U Nu's election promises of a home and a car for every Burmese. U Nu's declaration on agrarian reform to distribute land to tillers remained only on paper. Foreign concerns dominated oil exploration, industry, and foreign trade with their investments.

U Nu also failed to bring about internal peace. At one time, when difficulties arose, he resigned from his post (?to avoid them). Although he reappeared soon on the political stage, the situation in Burmese political power became more complicated. The AFPFL [Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League] split in two. In 1958, U Nu declared an amnesty for all anti-government forces, including the communists, and tried to achieve national conciliation. This worried the military leaders like Colonel Aung Gyi and Colonel Maung Maung who preferred a tough policy against the insurgents, and some facts indicate that they started preparing for the military coup.

U Nu, caught between the two sides, invited military leaders to his residence in September 1958 and announced that he had decided to hand over power to the military to restore law and order and peace in the country. Chief of Staff General Ne Win accepted that proposal then.

Of its many goals, the military was able to accomplish only one. It staged the elections and handed over power to those who won the elections. U Nu and his colleagues made religion a major campaign issue and won over the very religious the Burmese people. Observers say the efforts to promote Buddhism before other religions and the passing of the law making Burma a Buddhist country in 1961 were connected with U Nu's religious tendencies. But I personally feel that U Nu and his party had relied more on religion because they had no other political conviction.

At the time, separatist insurgent movements became active in the remote areas and threatened the territorial integrity of the Union of Burma. Prime Minister U Nu was again about to lose power. Gen Ne Win again came in—this time uninvited; he remained there not for 18 months but 26 years.

Judging from the events of March, August, and September, the young generation appears to be the leading force in Burma, and this may have been why U Nu failed to win support when he self-proclaimed the reinstatement of his government and his parliament. Firstly, there were very few surviving members of the old parliament, and secondly, the Burmese people viewed that parliament as something of a very ancient past. But as U Tin U, a leader of the National League for Democracy, says: U Nu continues to be respected as someone who is very experienced and as someone different from others.

This comes as no surprise because U Nu's life reflects every little twist and turn of Burma's history. Wonderful times and changes in U Nu's life are the outstanding periods on the stage of Burma's history. We may perhaps be witnessing another continuation of this drama today. But it is difficult to say whether it is a beginning or the end of the play. Whatever it may be, U Nu has reemerged on the political stage—not as an ordinary person but as a leader.

Near East & South Asia

Allegations of Soviet, Afghan CW Use Rebuffed

LD3011165188 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Shishkov:

A briefing for local and foreign journalists was held at the press centre of the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

Speaking at the briefing, M.N. Amani, director of the press centre, said mass media of some Western countries had lately launched a mendacious propaganda campaign about an alleged use of chemical weapons by Afghan troops and Soviet aircraft during combat operations in Nangarhar Province.

The circulation of obviously false rumours, he emphasized, is designed to mislead the world public opinion.

The Afghan Army, Lieutenant-General M.N. Azimi, first deputy minister of defence of the Republic of Afghanistan, said at the briefing, has never used chemical weapons against the armed opposition under any circumstances, which foreign journalists who visited the city of Jalalabad recently could see for themselves. Unfortunately, this cannot be said about extremists from among the intransigent opposition. The journalists saw with their own eyes chemical weapons seized from the extremists.

Major General Aleksandr Zakharov, a spokesman for the command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, pointed out that the Pakistani leadership and some U.S. circles sought to frustrate the implementation of the Geneva accords which are directed towards a political settlement of the Afghan problem. "This is evidenced by firing on villages, administrative centres, and food-carrying motor convoys. Soviet garrisons are also fired upon. All that is being accompanied by slanderous statements made by various radio voices. The allegation as to an ostensible use of chemical weapons by Soviet troops became one of them. This is really an attempt at laying the blame at somebody else's door. It is known that the intransigents used chemical weapons more than ten times over the period of 1982 to 1986 alone, which led to a great loss of life, including that among Afghan civilians".

The journalists were shown both genuine specimens and photographs of chemical weapons used by extremists in Afghanistan. An overwhelming majority of the mines, grenades and jet projectiles with white phosphorus bore the marking of the Lake Ri chemical company and its address: Cleveland-14, Ohio, USA.

Afghan Constitution Day Marked by Fighting

PM3011164738 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch "Afghanistan: The Constitution is Working"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Nov—An Afghan state holiday—Constitution Day—is being marked 30 November. Rallies and meetings in honor of this important event are taking place throughout the country. An address by President Najibullah has been published. HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR, the organ of the PDPA Central Committee, has devoted a special edition to the anniversary of the ratification of the country's fundamental law.

The year which has elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan has shown that the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation is an extraordinarily, painfully difficult matter. The "irreconcilable" opposition which continues to gamble on a military solution to the conflict is putting up an embittered resistance to this policy.

Meanwhile, another realistic path toward the achievement of tranquillity in Afghanistan has been thrown wide open. On the basis of the Constitution and in accordance with the principles of political pluralism, state structures have been formed. Parliament—the National Council—and a number of political parties, including Islamic parties, are functioning. Legislation guaranteeing the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens is being created and improved.

Practical experience has shown that the Constitution is viable, that it is working, and that it provides a good legal basis for the development of a peaceful, independent, and neutral Afghanistan.

The first anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan is, however, being marked not only with rallies, but also with the rumble of guns. The situation in the country is difficult. Combat operations are continuing in Nangarhar Province, in the area of the Towr Kham-Qandahar Highway. Aircraft and artillery of the Afghan Armed Forces have delivered powerful blows against concentrations of counterrevolutionary forces. According to information from competent organs, subunits of the Pakistani Army and formations of the border militia have taken part in the fighting for the road. In this way Pakistan is continuing its policy of flouting the Geneva agreements in practice.

Afghanistan is longing for peace. The Supreme Council for Nationalities and Tribal Affairs has issued an appeal calling for an end to the fratricide and stepped up efforts to establish tranquillity in the country.

Efforts To Free POW's in Afghanistan Outlined

PM3011120888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 47, 20 Nov 88 p 5

[Enver Akhmedzyanov "Firsthand Information" article: "The Search for Soviet Captives in Afghanistan Gains Speed"]

[Text] Until recently the number of missing Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan totalled 313. When an airliner brought Sergeiy Tseluyevskiy a former junior sergeant of a building unit, to Moscow from New York, the number became one person less.

Soviet leaders have repeatedly expressed concern over the fate of Soviet POWs. Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We shall make every effort to facilitate the return of our people to their country." More than once, crowded public demonstrations have taken place near the gates of the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow, demanding that the authorities of that country participate in the liberation of our soldiers. The Soviet Red Cross and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been actively engaged since 1981 in the search of Soviet soldiers missing in Afghanistan. Dmitriy Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alliance of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR, said that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), with headquarters in Geneva, gives much help in the search and liberation of Soviet soldiers.

Out of 24 Soviet servicemen who have returned home from captivity or from Western countries during all these years, eight people were set free with the assistance of the ICRC. Some of these were liberated by the Soviet military command after talks with the armed Afghan opposition. Only individuals succeeded escaping from captivity.

According to Dmitriy Venediktov, the participation of the Soviet Red Cross society and the ICRC is growing with each passing day. The ICRC has representatives in a number of Pakistani cities neighbouring Afghanistan, as well as in Kabul. Their main task is to estabish the exact number of Soviet soldiers still held prisoner, visit them, render medical aid and convey letters to relatives.

It is highly important, Dmitriy Venediktov stressed, that the belligerent sides—the Afghan Government and anti-government formations—should exchange assurances on the observation of international law regarding captives.

The Afghan Government has made such a statement and is adhering to it in practice. Since 1987 Kabul has announced an amnesty and has set free more than 5,000 rebels. However, the armed opposition is so far refraining from similar steps, as well as from an official statement. Nevertheless, Dmitriy Venediktov has all grounds, as he said, for "cautious optimism", inasmuch as the press has carried rebel leaders' appeals to the commanders of their detachments so that the latter would treat captives in accordance with the norms of human rights and render assistance to the representatives of the ICRC.

A coordinating committee of the Soviet public for the liberation of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan was set up in June 1988. It includes as private persons the leaders of practically all major organizations of the USSR: pop stars, prominent writers, lawyers, journalists, religious figures, former soldiers, internationalists, the mothers of soldiers killed in Afghanistan....

The committee also receives major financial aid from the Soviet Peace Fund c/o the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Soviet Servicemen.

Official of POW Aid Organization Interviewed

PM2911093388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Mariy, responsible secretary of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War Held Captive in Afghanistan, by correspondent V. Gorchakov: "Mothers Await an Answer"; place, date not given]

[Text] Vladimir Mariy, responsible secretary of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War Held Captive in Afghanistan, tells our correspondent about the committee's activity.

[Gorchakov] Vladimir Vasilyevich, our newspaper reported on one of the committee's first sessions. Remind our readers who is on the committee.

[Mariy] The Coordinating Committee was formed in Moscow on 29 June this year. Its creation became possible after the signing of the agreements on Afghanistan in Geneva. The committee includes representatives of public organizations—the AUCCTU, the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Youth Organizations Committee, the Peace Defense Committee, the Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries, the Association of Soviet Jurists, and the Religious Affairs Council under the USSR Council of Ministers—and representatives of the mass media (including your newspaper). There are prominent public and religious figures and workers in literature and art on the committee.

[Gorchakov] What aims does the Coordinating Committee pursue?

[Mariy] The chief aim is to bring missing sons back to the motherland and to their families. For they are our people. They lived among us until the age of 18, and then circumstances—frequently tragic ones—abruptly altered their destinies.

[Gorchakov] How many servicemen were captured?

[Mariy] The Coordinating Committee's lists include 312 names, while approximately 20 more people are in Western countries to which they were taken from Pakistan.

[Gorchakov] How many prisoners have returned to the motherland?

[Mariy] So far—25. Sergey Tseluyevskiy, who flew in from the United States 6 November, was the 25th. He spent 5 and ½ years abroad, not abandoning his idea of seeing his relatives again. He reached the United States with the help of a U.S. charitable organization that got him out of Pakistan. It is hard to convey what horrors this young man experienced in captivity. He was already gravely ill when he arrived in the United States. He got a job as an unskilled laborer there and was saving money for a ticket to Moscow. When the Soviet Embassy learned about him, our Coordinating Committee was at once notified, and we resolved the question of the ticket the same day. The remaining complexities were also quickly overcome.

[Gorchakov] Do you mean to say that if Sergey had turned to the Soviet organizations earlier, he would have returned sooner?

[Mariy] Of course. Although we do not have our own account or staff of employees, we are able to resolve any question of helping prisoners, for there are influential public organizations on the committee. We suspect that some of our servicemen are afraid to return to the motherland because an unambiguous attitude was taken toward prisoners during the Great Patriotic War years—as traitors. How much I would like to convey to these people the words of USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev's statement that no measures of influence will be applied to former prisoners, that the benefits laid down for internationalist servicemen extend to them, and that there will be an amnesty for those who have committed misdemeanors against Soviet power. This is a humane and just decision.

[Gorchakov] Who does the Coordinating Committee cooperate with abroad?

[Mariy] With many international and also national organizations and prominent public figures. We have also asked trade union organizations, particularly in Pakistan and Afghanistan, to help return the Soviet prisoners of war. Letters have been sent to the International Cooperative Alliance and the International Red Cross. The "Amnesty International," "Greens in the Bundestag," and "Medecins sans Frontieres" organizations have received similar appeals. Certain Pakistani women's organizations have agreed to help us—the Soviet Women's Committee turned to them. The International Committee to Save the Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, which has been set up in New York, is doing great work.

A delegation of the International Committee is currently in Moscow—it has come to coordinate joint efforts for the release of the Soviet prisoners of war. In a few days, representatives of the International and Coordinating Committees will visit the Pakistani Embassy and present an appeal to the country's government. The International Committee delegation is also seeking permission to visit Pakistan to meet there with leaders of the armed Afghan opposition and discuss terms for returning the Soviet prisoners of war.

The two committees held a news conference in the APN building yesterday, when the text of the appeal to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was disseminated. Journalists were also familiarized with plans for cooperation between the Soviet public and the international public to get our citizens released from captivity.

Pakistani Complaint to United Nations Dismissed

PM2911151788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Yu. Shtykanov under the rubric "Notes on the Subject": "False Complaint"]

[Text] Pakistan is continuing to violate the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Moreover, in some regions in Afghanistan the interference is developing into direct armed aggression. Here are just a few examples: Rocket fire is being directed against peaceful Afghan settlements from Pakistani territory, which is leading to numerous casualties among the population. Recently long-range "surface to surface" rockets have been sent to the Afghan extremists via Pakistan, which is a gross violation of the Geneva agreements.

Pakistani airplanes and helicopters are violating Afghanistan's airspace. Servicemen from the Pakistani security forces and the malishi [name as transliterated] (members of the tribal militia) are carrying out raids on Afghan territory and attacking border posts.

Until recently the Pakistani authorities preferred to keep silent on this question. But a few days ago they launched a propaganda maneuver. S. Shah Nawaz, permanent Pakistani representative at the United Nations, passed a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council in which the facts were distorted.

The basic premise of this document is that, allegedly, it is not Pakistan but Afghanistan that is failing to observe the Geneva agreements, and the violations are being committed by the Afghan side. But the letter does not contain a single piece of evidence that can stand up to comparison with reality. There can be none.

A recent statement by the Pakistani defense minister indicates what the Pakistani military really thinks (after the death of President Ziaul Haq it has by no means the last word in the country's political life) about the Geneva agreements. He said in particular that there will be no peace in Afghanistan until the present Afghan Government is overthrown and an Islamic one is formed. This is an open infringement of Afghanistan's sovereignty which, we recall, is banned by the Geneva agreements.

It seems that there is one more reason for this strange complaint to the UN Security Council. Recently Kabul proposed new initiatives for a peaceful settlement to the conflict and an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan. Among them is the proposal to hold an international conference under UN auspices with the aim of creating guarantees for Afghanistan's neutral status and a program to demilitarize the country under international supervision.

Evidently Islamabad has nothing with which to counter this constructive idea. So a diplomatic move has been made which is intended to justify its obstructionist policy as regards the Geneva agreements.

Polyakov, Arab Envoys Discuss Palestinians

LD2611042188 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Member of the collegium of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR Vladimir Polyakov today received heads of Arab diplomatic representations in Moscow: Ambassador of the Yemen Arab Republic Muhammad 'Abd al-'Uthman, Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq Sa'd al-Faysal, extraordinary PLO Representative in the USSR Nabil 'Umar, Charge d'Affaires ad Interim of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic R. Soubes at their request.

The Arab diplomats expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its firm and principled support of the Palestinian people's struggle for the exercise of their inalienable national rights. They highly appreciated the Soviet Union's stand vis-a-vis the decisions taken by the Palestine National Council's extraordinary session in Algiers, which was set forth in the November 18 statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The Soviet side noted realism and responsibility diplayed by the Palestinian leadership in elaborating the new political programme of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It was noted that the Palestine National Council's decisions are a major contribution to the process of a fair political settlement in the Middle East.

The participants in the meeting expressed the unanimous opinion that the way to such a settlement lies through the convocation, under the U.N. auspices, of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization—the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and also five permanent Security Council members. It is now necessary to envigorate efforts to see to it that conference preparations should change over to practical deeds.

Government Greets PLO on Solidarity Day

PM2911151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[USSR Council of Ministers message to PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat on international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people]

[Text] To Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

On the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, we send the PLO and the entire Palestinian people our sincere congratulations and best wishes.

Visible and long-overdue changes are taking place everywhere in the world today. Gradually the gamble on force and confrontation is departing from the practice of international relations and a transition to political means of settling problems is increasingly gaining ground. This is also borne out by the trend now becoming established toward the practical unblocking of conflicts.

The heroic, peaceful Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza sector, which has been going on for almost a year now, has won broad support and sympathies throughout the world. It has graphically demonstrated that the Palestinian people will never resign themselves to the occupation and will never renounce their national rights. It is clear to the whole world now that ending the confrontation and hostility in the Near East is an imperative of the present time.

We feel profound satisfaction that an important step in the direction of ensuring more favorable conditions for achieving a practical shift in the process of unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict and the solution of its key—Palestinian—problem was taken at the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC].

The Soviet Union supports the PNC decision on the formation of an independent Palestinian state within the framework of a fair and comprehensive Near East settlement, and also the whole range of the documents adopted by the PNC in which the PLO once again declared itself for all to hear an authoritative partner in peace talks. The PNC political declaration opens up new opportunities for the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and struggle for a lasting and fair peace in the region and paves the way for convening an international conference on the Near East. The Soviet Union calls for preparatory work to begin without delay to convene such a conference under the UN aegis and with the participation on an equitable basis of all interested parties, including the PLO and the permanent member states of the UN Security Council.

The Soviet Union declares its solidarity with the friendly Palestinian people, and it will continue to seek to facilitate in every way the achievement of a comprehensive and fair settlement in the Near East.

[Signed] The USSR Council of Ministers

Palestinian Solidarity Meeting Held 29 Nov

PM3011171588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Palestinian people will acquire a homeland and reliable security when the principles of the new political thinking become part and parcel of the fabric of

Near East diplomacy and confrontation is replaced by a constructive quest for mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems. This was stated 29 November in Moscow at a meeting devoted to the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people and the first anniversary of the uprising in the occupied territories.

The main speaker, G.P. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said the upsurge of the Palestinian people's movement gave a tangible impetus to the quest for practical solutions for a Near East settlement. The great importance of the emergency session of the Palestine National Council which proclaimed an independent Palestinian state was noted. It was emphasized that the Soviet Union favors a comprehensive and fair settlement in the Near East.

R. al-Natshah, head of the delegation of the Palestinian-Soviet Friendship Society and member of the Fatah Central Committee, declared that his people are determined to continue the struggle. He said that Palestinians will never resign themselves to the occupation and will not renounce their national rights.

The meeting participants sent a greetings message to the PLO Executive Committee.

The meeting was attended by the leaders of a number of ministries and departments and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

N. 'Amr, the PLO's extraordinary representative in the Soviet Union, and heads of diplomatic missions of a number of countries accredited in the USSR were also present.

Israeli ICBM, Nuclear Capability Noted

PM3011101588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vladimirov article under the rubric "Facts Testify": "The United States Thought It Preferable 'Not To Notice'"]

[Text] According to a report by THE BALTIMORE SUN citing U.S. officials and individual experts, Israel is now able to build missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads to the central part of the Soviet Union.

U.S. experts have reached the conclusion about Israel's capability having studied data on the launch on 19 September this year of the Israeli delivery vehicle which placed a small artificial satellite in orbit. "Specialists at the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Laboratory, which works on the development of nuclear weapons, have worked out on the basis of these data that the Israeli "Shavit" launcher is capable of delivering nuclear warheads over a distance of 3,300 miles, which brings Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other key cities in the Western part of the USSR within its range," the newspaper writes. "According to different calculations carried out by the U.S. Department of Defense, the launcher's range is 4,500 miles. In either case it falls under the definition of ICBM, as accepted by both the United States and the Soviet Union at their arms control talks."

In this context THE BALTIMORE SUN recalls that Israel has already developed and, it is to be assumed, deployed an intermediate-range missile capable of covering 900 miles. According to L. Spector, a leading U.S. expert in the sphere of nuclear arms proliferation, Israel now has 50 or 60 nuclear warheads. Other experts believe that the number of nuclear devices in Israel's possession could be approaching 100.

"The possible consequences of this are frightening"—the newspaper cites the words of a U.S. official who studies this problem. THE BALTIMORE SUN claims that until very recently the United States did not know that Israel was developing an ICBM. "Israel has kept us completely in the dark as regards these questions"—the newspaper cites an official administration spokesman. "No one knew in advance about the launch of the delivery vehicle carrying the Ofeq-1 satellite on 19 September. It came as a shock to everyone."

THE BALTIMORE SUN adds further that this development of events is causing concern in the United States. It reports that a special interdepartmental group is currently elaborating the U.S. position with a view to persuading Israel to refrain from building an ICBM. The group includes representatives of the National Security Council, the State Department, the CIA, the Departments of Defense and Commerce, and NASA.

However, the U.S. official's explanations, cited by the newspaper, about the United States' "not knowing" look highly unconvincing. It is difficult to believe that Washington, which has the closest military and economic ties with its "strategic ally" in the Near East and a powerful intelligence apparatus at its disposal, "did not notice" the preparations for the launch of the Israeli satellite, which took several months. Especially, as the London SUNDAY TIMES newspaper wrote earlier, as a number of U.S. firms actually took part in developing individual components of the "Shavit" launcher.

Shcherbina Holds Talks in PDRY on Oil Production

LD2611043988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1421 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Aden, 25 Nov (TASS)—The visit to the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] by a Soviet Government delegation headed by Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers bureau for the fuel and energy complex, is over.

The delegation was received by 'A.S. al-Bid, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) Central Committee, who highly evaluated the state of bilateral relations in different areas. He stressed the great significance of Soviet aid for the economy of Democratic Yemen. Y.S. Nu'man, prime minister of the PDRY; F.M. 'Abdallah, secretary of the Central Committee of the YSP; S.A.B. ibn Husaynun, deputy prime minister and minister of energy and minerals of the PDRY; other Yemeni officials; and A.I. Rachkov, ambassador of the USSR to the PDRY, took part in the conversation.

A wide-ranging and constructive exchange of opinions on the matters discussed took place. The sides confirmed the immutability of the policy of strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation, noting that these relations are an important factor in the development of the revolutionary process in Democratic Yemen and in strengthening its independence, which meets the interests of both counries. It was established that agreements and protocols between the two governments are being successfully carried out.

During the visit, the Soviet delegation visited the provinces of Shabwah and Hadramawt where they familiarized themselves with the geological prospecting work for oil and gold being performed there with the help of Soviet specialists, with the opening up of oil fields and the building of an oil pipeline. The delegation also familiarized itself with the progress of work in building and utilizing the "Aden" thermal electric power station and water desalination complex.

Moscow Comments on Iran's Regional Policy

NC2311124688 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Vladimir Andreyev commentary: "Iran and the Arab-Israeli Conflict"]

[Text] During their recent discussions in New Delhi, the leaders of the Soviet Union and India called on the world to support the positive trends that have begun in solving regional problems. As emphasized in New Delhi, the beginning of such processes became possible thanks to a new political way of thinking in international relations. This dictates a peaceful solution of the critical situation. We now invite you to listen to a commentary on this by our analyst Vladimir Andreyev:

The appeal heard from New Delhi should inevitably receive special attention in countries of the Near and Middle East. This vast region populated by more than 300 million people is considered synonymous with crises, conflicts, and war; this is not very pleasant. Only a short while ago it appeared that these definitions could not be separated from this region. However, the current year—1988—invalidated all the things we thought about the Middle and Near East, and it became obvious that there is a way to lighten the burden of this region's long conflict and that one should not resort to force in solving existing conflicts.

For example, in April agreements were signed in Geneva on Afghanistan. These pacts have paved the path toward establishing peace in distressed Afghanistan. In August the roar of guns died down on the Iran-Iraq war front. A cease-fire was established, and the 8-year war between these two countries ended. Iran and Iraq started negotiations in Geneva to solve bilateral conflicts.

It appears that a new method of thought is seriously advancing in the Near and Middle East. Undoubtedly, everyone warmly welcomes this process. The new wave of thought first touched the area around Afghanistan and then the Iran-Iraq border. After this, I would very much like to name the Near East. However, it is unfortunately still too soon to speak about this.

At any rate, positive changes can be seen on the world map, and activities for putting together an international conference on the Near East can be observed—a conference in which all the interested countries could solve pressing regional problems, namely the creation of a Palestinian Government through peaceful means.

The recent proclamation by the PNC on a Palestinian Government has been yet another step toward this end. More than 30 countries, including the Soviet Union and India, have recognized this government. Both countries endorsed, in their joint communique in New Delhi, the realism and sense of responsibility displayed by the Palestinian leadership. The Palestinian leadership intends to establish an independent Palestinian Government within the framework of a just and comprehensive solution to conflicts in the Near East.

Unfortunately, one cannot say that the proclamation of the Palestinian government was received similarily everywhere. Primarily, we must name Israel, which as before continues to completely ignore all the efforts the world makes toward a solution of the Near East conflict. As for its relations with the Palestinians, it should be said that these relations continue to be established from a position that leans on power, and this creates problems for the peace establishment process.

I think that in order to be successful in overcoming the Near East problem, it is especially important to make use of all forces that have interests in this problem. I am primarily referring to those forces enjoying great credibility in international affairs. Undoubtedly, Iran can also be considered as one of these forces. Iran's large population, the fact that it enjoys great economic power, its traditional strong ties with a number of Arab countries, and the influence it has with many Muslim organizations are naturally all important elements in solving the Near East conflict. This is especially true since the Iranian leadership is striving toward Israel's return of all the occupied Arab territories and toward the creation of an independent Palestinian government.

In short, Iran's stand conforms with the fundamental principles that Arab countries follow for solving the Near East conflict. The unity or conformity of views between Iran and the Arab countries should lead to their joint efforts toward solving the Near East situation. However, as usually happens in policy, what was expected does not fully conform with what exists. There are important reasons for this, which stem primarily from the Iran-Iraq conflict. This conflict resulted in the division of the Arabs into two groups—the group supporting Iran and the group expressing solidarity with Iraq. Under such conditions, the possibility for unity of action in overcoming the Near East conflict diminished, and under such conditions we will not be exaggerating when we speak about the significance of ending the war on the Iran-Iraq front and of commencing the Geneva talks for a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

As was shown by recent visits of Iran's high-ranking diplomats to Near East countries and especially the visit by Besharati, Iran's first deputy foreign minister, to Persian Gulf countries, Iran's political credibility is increasing considerably among its Arab neighbors. Therefore, cooperation on some international problems can be further strengthened.

In my opinion, the considerable improvement in Soviet-Iranian relations manifested by the visit of Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to Iran and by his talks in Tehran plays a significant role in consolidating the bases of cooperation in this region. It should be noted that both countries, which usually have special influences in Near East issues, reached an agreement on continuing bilateral talks on all urgent international problems. The solution of the Near East conflict too is undoubtedly among these problems.

As you know, the Soviet Union is persistently striving toward fulfilling the definite rights of the Palestinian Arabs, namely their right to form an independent government as well as for the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories. The Soviet Union supports efforts that attempt to find peaceful means for establishing peace in the Near East. Iran also could undoubtedly play a great role in these efforts.

Correspondent on Iran's 'Shi'ite Dictatorship'

PM3011150788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 14

[Konstantin Kapitonov dispatch: "Iran: Country in Islamic Garb"]

[Text] Tehran-Moscow—I flew to Tehran in an elated mood. Probably because I had been waiting for an entry visa for 6 months, and, to be honest, had given up all hope of going to Iran.

But my mood instantly vanished the next day when I went in the morning to our embassy and saw a slogan on a brick wall written in big letters: "Marg bar shuravi!" ("Death to the Soviets!")

On that same day I visited the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, intending to get accreditation and ask for interviews with statesmen and politicians of interest to me. But there I received a categorical refusal, so to speak. My visa roused the suspicion of the person who received me, or rather the bureaucrat who questioned me.

I was refused accreditation without any reasons being given (interviews did not come into it) and told to go to the Foreign Ministry.

Because of the shortage of space, I am not going to give a detailed description of how much effort and time our embassy officials spent to get the Foreign Ministry to receive me. I will only report that there was a call 2 weeks later from the Iranian diplomatic department. They suggested that I visit Mr Kalyam Foli [name as transliterated].

The audience in the Foreign Ministry, as in the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, also resembled an interrogation.

"Where did you get the visa? Why have you come here? Have you been to Iran before? Do you have Iranian friends?"

Then they said:

"We know your newspaper. We have come across your name. So, we cannot understand how you got a visa. But we will find out.... We advise you to leave Tehran as soon as possible, if you don't want any unpleasantness."

The bearded bureaucrat got up, making it clear that the audience was over. I got up too. Thanking him for his hospitality, I said as calmly as possible:

"I have a visa for 1 month.... So I will take full advantage of it."

And although no officials received me, I did have some meetings with Iranians. It is true that my interlocutors did ask me not to give their names. They said: "You won't get a visa next time, and we could have our heads cut off." They are right: In present-day Iran any unsanctioned contact with foreigners is punished severely.

Obedience, obedience...

I never thought this was possible: Going back from the 20th century to the 14th. Moreover, not in a "time machine," but on an ordinary Iranair Boeing, which took me from Damascus to Tehran in 3 hours.

This occurred, as was shown on the airline ticket, on 22 Ordibehesht 1367. In other words—12 May 1988.

When I set out for Iran, I knew, of course, when Ayatollah Khomeyni came to power in 1979 and announced the creation of an Islamic republic as his main aim, that he and his entourage had started to feverishly revive the "enduring values of the Muslim religion" and implement the full "Islamization" of all aspects of Iranian society's life.

Nonetheless, the things I saw surpassed all expectations. And not because I had to come in contact with the attributes of "Islamization"—strict Islamic dress for women, embodying "high moral qualities," the unshaven faces of the men symbolizing constant "revolutionary readiness," the prayers, prophets and so on—but because Islam is being revived in Iran... from above.

So, for example, all women, including foreigners, can only go out into the street in a hidzhab—a long veil covering their face and figure. The men are obliged to wear shirts with long sleeves, and they are always worn outside the pants.

The unique religious police—the so-called "Islamic revolutionary committees"—make sure that the Islamic norms are observed. Under these revolutionary committees special women's subunits have been set up to make sure that the hidzhab is worn correctly.

"By the way, these formations," an Iranian journalist noted in conversation with me, "consist mainly of former members of the world's oldest profession. So it is not difficult to imagine how zealously they fulfill their duties."

I found out from him that those who violate the instructions are taken to the police precinct and lectured. They can be fined and even sent to a special camp to do hard labor. The detainees or their relatives pay for their maintenance.

In addition, the activists of the Hezbollah party—the "Black Hundred" as they are called in Iran—and also members of the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" exercise supervision over proper behavior in accordance with the canons of Islam. They patrol the streets, stop passers-by if they think that someone does not look as is laid down in Islamic laws. For example, if a man and a woman hold hands, they must be stopped and asked for their marriage certificate. If they do not happen to have it, the couple is taken to prison.

One is also struck by the spread among Iranians of the feeling of unquestioning obedience to the leaders. Above all, to Ayatollah Khomeyni—this "living God" to whom "the Iranian people owe everything and for whom they must do everything."

The Friday prayers are an important element of the way the propaganda is applied to the population. Iran's ruling circles have turned them from religious and ceremonial into political measures, during which the regime's domestic and foreign political concepts are skillfully inculcated in the worshipers.

Observing the prayers, I saw with my own eyes that all efforts by the Iranian leaders are poured into turning most of the population into robots who, on orders from above, mindlessly apply pressure on any dissidence or the slightest expression of opposition.

"You are right," another interlocutor, the owner of a bookstore with whom I shared my thoughts, agreed with me. "I would say also that to achieve this aim reliance is placed not so much on the prayers as on the widespread repressive-penal apparatus."

He was silent, and then asked:

"Do you know how many prisons there were during the shah's time?"

I shook my head.

"Around 50... and today there are more than 700. More than 100,000 political prisoners languish in them. There are several dozen torture centers in the country at which 48 types of torture are used."

My other interlocutors said that, in addition to prisons and torture, denunciations are approved in present-day Iran. This is what Hojat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, chairman of the Majlis (parliament), stated at one recent prayer session:

"It is not essential for the Islamic Republic to recruit police to control dissidents, as the shah did. We have a 40-million-strong army of informants. Let people keep an eye on each other. Our professional investigators will do the rest."

This call for denunciations is causing instability in the mullahs' regime, which is forced to rely on fear and the whip.

The Revolution Is Changing Course

When the Iranian people put an end to Shah's bloody supremacy on 9 February 1979, there were no limits to the high hopes. But the euphoria soon passed. The people who had brought about the revolution were suddenly convinced that their dreams had not come true at all. They had won not freedom and democracy but a Shi'ite dictatorship that rejected all the original values, even the Islamic republic, which had been robbed of its original meaning.

"The revolution did not achieve its aims," a frontline soldier who had been fired from the army when he was wounded, told me. "We have been liberated neither from oppression, nor from despotism, nor from poverty...."

"The revolution has only led to a change in the exploiters," his comrade, also a former soldier, added. "It has succeeded not only in enshrining but also in reinforcing injustice."

"We thought that we would have a truly popular government," the former said. "We hoped that it would act on the basis of the laws, that it would ensure freedom to criticize, freedom to express opinions with the full guarantee of personal safety, freedom of the press, and assemblies.... And what did we get?"

He waved his hand in despair, and his comrade said:

"Absolutely nothing.... We have become bogged down again in the mire of violence. Everything that existed during the shah's time continues to flourish under the present regime."

How do ordinary Iranians live? I obtained the answer to this question when I visited the family of an oil worker.

"Life has become hell, simply unbearable," the head of the family complained as he poured tea. "Wages are frozen. Even the most meager earnings are taxed to boost the military budget. Housing rent? It is astronomical! Food prices? They are fantastic!"

Later I was able to acquaint myself with the official Iranian Central Bank figures. They revealed that 12 million people (Iran has a population of 49.5 million—K.K.) live below the poverty line, 22 million subsist without being able to make ends meet, and only just over 12 million live in conditions of an unstable sufficiency. During the war years food prices increased 15 to 20-fold. Expenditure on housing totals on average 42 percent of the family budget, but can be as high as 80 percent.

"What do you yourself earn?"—I asked.

"You must bear in mind that since the revolution workers' wages have not increased and many people are forced to earn money on the side to make ends meet. That is what I do. As a result I manage to earn around 90,000 a month. By today's standards, that is not a bad wage."

"Is it enough to live on?"

"Judge for yourself.... Rent for the apartment swallows up almost half the monthly budget. Around 45,000-50,000 are left to live on. To feed a family of four you need at least 120,000 today. And there are six in my family."

"So how do you manage?"

"We twist and turn...." he replied and went to the other room.

I thought: What kind of tricks people have to resort to in order to feed their families! Take, for instance, medical services.... According to official data, the simplest operation, to take out an appendix, costs 50,000 riyals.

My interlocutor came back, sat down opposite me, and laid out paper rectangles resembling streetcar tickets on the table.

"Coupons...."—he explained. "The monthly allowance? It amounts to 700g of meat, 500g of vegetable oil, 1.5 kg of rice, 1 kg of sugar, 10 eggs, 90g of soap, and 240g of detergent. These are the Tehran rates; in other provinces they are much lower."

He gathered up the coupons and putting them to one side said:

"It is a help, of course.... But they do not resolve the problem. People are suffering hardship...."

There is no need to look for the poor and the destitute. Literally at any crossroads in Tehran you can see able-bodied men who, in the hope of earning a few riyals, are eager to wipe windshields or sell cigarettes, matches, or chewing gum. Beggars and cripples roam around, importuning passers-by.

They are all representatives of the 13-million-strong army of unemployed....

Incidentally, it is not just beggars that you come across on the streets of Tehran. Despite the headlong destruction of social and economic structures, many rich Iranians (according to official data the number of millionaires has increased seven-fold since the revolution) live in luxury. In the summer they head for the Caspian coast in their Cadillacs and in the winter they go skiing in the mountains.

There is another class that also lives in prosperity. It has emerged during the years of the revolution. These are the people who work in state institutions, revolutionary committees and organizations, or serve in the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" Corps. The regime takes care of them. In addition to their wages they receive other benefits. In particular, they are entitled to buy imported goods at subsidized prices without having to stand in line.

And what about ordinary Iranians? Are they resigned to this situation? How do they react to the continuing outpourings of revolutionary slogans?

Despite rigid, or rather total censorship, materials are appearing in the Iranian press which testify to the masses' growing dissatisfaction with the regime's policy. There is opposition in the army, which has been humiliated and is doomed to subordination to the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards," who have become the leading military and political force in the country. Opposition also exists among low-paid employees, oppressed women, and the traditional clergy, concerned at the exploitation of religion for political purposes which does not accord with the classical teaching of Islam.

A Parting Glance

In order to avoid the endless traffic jams—2.5 million cars and 1.5 million motorcycles throng the streets of Tehran every day—we did not travel to the airport along the main capital's main thoroughfares but took to the side streets.

Almost at every street-corner there were shrines commemorating the dead. They made from thin, curved pipes and mirror fragments. And decorated with garlands of colored lights that are switched on when darkness falls. They shine all evening and all night. Until dawn. This is a tribute, we were told, to the young boys who died without having tasted "the bliss of their wedding night."

On many houses black cloth is draped over the doorway, and photographs of those killed are displayed on the walls. From time to time janitors tear down the photographs, but the next day they are up again. All this has become so commonplace that passers-by pay no attention to it any more.

However, perhaps the most tangible result of the war are the cemeteries, which are expanding all over Iran. I managed to visit "Behest-e Zahra"—the biggest cemetery in Tehran, whose gate is adorned with one of Khomeyni's sayings: "Martyrs! Rest in peace; no one can deprive you of your victory." The cemetery is located on flat land covering tens of kilometers. However, despite the opening up of more and more new sectors, each designed for 10,000 graves, there are not enough places.

Part of the route to the airport passed along a high wall covered with vast caricatures and terrible slogans in which the word "death" occurred most frequently. The butt of the criticism was directed at the superpowers and their "henchman" Saddam Husayn.

There are many anti-Soviet slogans.... Incidentally, to be fair, it must be stated that from time to time statements about the intention to develop normal, goodneighborly relations with the Soviet Union are heard from Khomeyni's entourage. Nonetheless, anti-Sovietism and anticommunism remain part of the Islamic propaganda arsenal.

Naturally, this cannot fail to have an impact on a certain section of the population. I was able to see this for myself. But I also saw something else: The majority of Iranians, despite the authorities' efforts, do not feel hostility toward our country. What is more, they view the processes of restructuring and democratization which are taking place in our country with interest and are trying to find out the truth. M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking" has survived four editions in Iran.

All the same.... The anti-Soviet chords resound louder than the others. Suffice it to recall one of the latest slogans proclaimed by Ayatollah Khomeyni: "America is worse than Britain. Britain is worse than America. And the Soviet Union is worse than both of them together."

...On my way to the airport I looked at the passers-by, I studied their resigned, indifferent faces. For most Iranians this is a mask they are forced to wear. In reality they continue to rack their brains, although they are forced to hide their thoughts.

East Europe

Yugoslavia's National Day Marked in USSR

Silayev at Moscow Meeting

LD2911091788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0635 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 28 November there was a solemn meeting in Moscow devoted to Yugoslavia's national day, Republic Day. It was noted that equal cooperation was developing between our parties and peoples on the basis of jointly agreed principles and accords and full respect for the interests of each country and the particular nature of its policy. The further deepening of bilateral links has been facilitated by the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted this March. It was stressed that the all-around development of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation is in the long-term interests of the peoples of the two countries and of peace and social progress.

Taking part in the meeting were Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Veres, Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR.

Silayev Addresses Meeting

PM2911184188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ceremonial Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] Soviet people regard with sincere interest and comradely solidarity the SFRY working people's efforts to improve the political and economic system of socialist self-management. This was stressed 28 November at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow working people to mark Republic Day—Yugoslavia's national holiday.

The keynote speaker, I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, noted that equitable cooperation is developing between the CPSU and the

LCY and between the USSR and the SFRY on the basis of jointly agreed principles and accords and full respect for each country's interests and the specific features of their policy. The further deepening of bilateral ties is helped by the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in March of this year.

M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, told the audience about the Yugoslav working people's achievements and their efforts to implement the decisions of the 13th congress, of the conference of the LCY, and the guidelines of subsequent LCY Central Committee plenums. He noted that the all-around development of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation meets the interests of the two countries' peoples and of peace and social progress.

Taking part in the meeting were leaders of a number of ministries and departments and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

On the same day M. Veres gave a reception to mark the SFRY's national holiday.

SFRY Envoy Addresses USSR People

LD2911231588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by Milan Veres, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the USSR, in studio on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, today we are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the second session of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] The creation of the new Yugoslavia is the result of our national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution. It is the precious achievement of our nations and nationalities accomplished under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Josip Broz Tito. Thus was achieved the centuries-long aspiration of our peoples to freedom, equality, and social justice.

At the LCY conference and the 17th Central Committee Plenum, the determination of the League of Communists and the working people of our country to carry out three reforms was confirmed: in the economy, in the constitutional and political system, and in the democratic transformation of the LCY. These will help to overcome the difficulties confronting us and will open the way toward full assertion of the great potential of self-management and socialist democracy.

As a socialist and nonaligned country, Yugoslavia gives active and constant backing to strengthening the positive tendencies in the international arena. The first meeting of foreign ministers from all the Balkan countries in Belgrade opened up a new page in the history of inter-Balkan relations. We regarded as an expression of a high level of confidence our friends' unanimous decision to hold next year's summit meeting of nonaligned countries once again in Belgrade. We welcomed the first Soviet-U.S. agreement on nuclear disarmament and hope for substantial progress along this path. At the same time we stress that long-term results for strengthening peace cannot be achieved without the active participation of all states. It is encouraging that the international community is reinforced by a feeling of mutual dependence; the universal democratic principles of relations between countries and peoples—humanity, equality, and freedom of choice—are finding affirmation.

Dear friends, I take particular pleasure in stressing that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia was a major contribution toward strengthening our friendship and a mighty stimulus for the progress of all-around cooperation. The adoption of the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration is of great significance. The principles contained in this declaration are of lasting importance and have wide international implications. Our stable relations are successfully being enhanced on the basis of full equality, independence, and mutual respect. The warm and cordial reception shown to comrade Gorbachev reflects not only sentiments of traditional friendship, but also our sincere understanding of those profound transformations which restructuring is bringing to the life of the Soviet people. I wish you success in accomplishing the tasks of restructuring.

Thank you for your attention.

Yazov Greets Defense Secretary

PM3011090388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

[Undated greetings message from USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov to SFRY Federal Secretary for National Defense V. Kadijevic on Yugoslav national day]

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense

Esteemed Comrade Federal Secretary!

Personally and on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces I send you and all servicemen of the Yugoslav People's Army most cordial congratulations on Yugoslavia's national holiday—Republic Day.

We note with profound satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation which have linked our peoples and armies for decades are now being filled with new content and are strengthening in the interests of peace and socialism.

I wish all Yugoslav servicemen further successes in improving combat skill for the good of strengthening the SFRY's defense capability.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

Assembly President Interviewed

PM2911152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Dusan Popovski, president of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, by own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev, under the headline: "Today Is a National Holiday in the SFRY—Republic Day" and the subtitle "One Hour in Parliament"—in Belgrade; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Fadeyev] What have been the main aspects of the Federal Assembly's work this year?

[Popovski] It is very hard to separate parliamentary concerns from the concerns of Yugoslav society. With all the changes taking place in our country, and even with all the social upheavals that have swept the country this year, I would say the Federal Assembly has remained a beacon to which people turn. People believe that parliament can find the key to the problems which have accumulated over the years. We have been very busy with amendments and additions to the SFRY Constitution. The purpose of all this work is to further improve socialist self-government, overcome the political and economic crisis, and strengthen and develop Yugoslavia as a federation.

The amendments supplement or replace 135 articles, which is almost one-third of the text of the Constitution, as it has been in force since 1974. The most significant changes concern the economy, where a market-based economic model is being introduced. Individual labor and the cooperative sector are being encouraged. Banks are being given greater independence. The practice of multiple candidate elections is being introduced everywhere. In short, the amendments open the way to political, economic, and other changes.

[Fadeyev] There is also talk of reforms in the political system, the economy, and the LCY.

[Popovski] These reforms should not be presented in a simplistic way. Take reform in the LCY, for example. Yes, it is necessary. But we must also make serious changes in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia—our biggest sociopolitical organization—and in the trade unions, which must draw conclusions from the growing working class demonstrations, and also in the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. [Popovski ends]

My interlocutor noted, in particular, that everything obsolete, routine, and bureaucratic in social life will have to be shed in the course of reform. But the Yugoslav people do have some things in their past of which they can be justly proud. A great deal has been achieved in their material development and social welfare and in the democratization of society. The gross national product is almost nine times the figure at the end of the war. Today you cannot say that Yugoslavia is an underdeveloped country. But, for various reasons, problems began to build up at the end of the seventies. The petroleum "shocks"—the huge rise in the price of this raw material—cost the country dear. The path to modern technology has also proved difficult. The SFRY has obtained this technology from advanced, developed states—but it is mainly outdated. On the whole, there are both objective and subjective factors that have held back the country's development.

[Popovski] We have come up against a series of problems and issues—as many other socialist countries have, too, incidentally—to which we have not given serious thought in the past. What kinds of contradictions are inherent in socialism? How should we handle market forces? Has the psychology of the working class changed? We even went as far as thinking that under socialism everything should be free, that the state could carry any burden on its shoulders. Now we are trying to rectify our mistakes and find a solution to the difficulties gripping our society. We must work consistently and persistently. Time will not wait—forces opposed to reform of any kind are rearing their heads.

[Fadeyev] Could you name these forces?

[Popovski] There are the nationalist elements (everyone knows what is happening in Kosovo at the moment), the bureaucrats, and the people who would like to earn as much money as possible without making any particular effort. Our reforms are not traveling along a broad, smooth avenue but are negotiating a deep, narrow canyon. I like this image—possibly because I come from a mountainous region myself. Our people have often traveled through such a canyon, during the years of struggle against fascism, and during other periods in our history. But I have believed and still do believe in my republic, my party, and my people. [Popovski ends]

In the opinion of the Yugoslav public, a new phenomenon has appeared in the political life of the SFRY—spontaneous demonstrations by the broad masses. This is primarily reflected in the thousands-strong rallies which have swept the country. The participants have demanded faster changes in society and in the economy. They have expressed concern regarding the events in Kosovo. Sometimes their demands have been maximalist. D. Popovski noted in this connection that these mass demonstrations are charged with an enormous social energy. And this, in his opinion, is a positive factor conducive to transformations. From their conversations with workers—and these have flocked in their thousands to the Federal Assembly in the summer and autumn of this year, to insist on their rights and demand a better life for themselves—the leaders of the Federal Assembly have learned a great deal which is of use.

The world community is interested in the processes now taking place in Yugoslavia—from the collective resignation of the Vojvodina leadership to the situation within the LCY, measures to combat inflation, and so forth. In

September, for example, in just 2 days, the chairman of the Federal Assembly received eight foreign envoys. D. Popovski complains that the days are too short. He attends every session of the SFRY Presidium, although he is not a member, and every session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, although he is not a member of the Central Committee. He is the Federal Assembly delegate in Skopje: There is also plenty to do there. Incidentally, just before our meeting, he had flown there in the morning and was back again in the Federal Assembly by evening. He had to catch up with the news of the day's events.

Guests take up a lot of time. In our turbulent age, parliamentary ties are very important. My interlocutor believes that foreign policy is one of the main tasks of the SFRY's supreme body. In the building where we had our meeting, the first conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government was in progress. The SFRY Federal Assembly recently unanimously approved the decision to hold the next conference of the Nonaligned Movement's heads of state and government in Belgrade next year.

[Popovski] We are proud that many eminent leaders have offered from our rostrum constructive foreign policy proposals which have found a response throughout the world. This year we had the honor to receive Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in our parliament.

[Fadeyev] Where do you feel efforts can be exerted in relations between the SFRY and the Soviet Union?

[Popovski] There are now quite a few areas. Joint enterprises, firms with mixed capital, entering the markets of third countries, our assistance in the development of Soviet agro-industrial complexes, and so forth. And what about cooperation in the rational use of water resources? Strengthening contacts at state, parliamentary, party, and public levels? Cultural exchange between our countries and peoples, whose mutual association is so deeply rooted in history? There is broad scope for cooperation. There is even more reason to combine our efforts because difficulties have arisen recently in our trade. I am thinking of the Soviet Union's trade deficit with Yugoslavia, which amounts to $1.7 billion and is a source of serious concern to both sides. [passage omitted]

CPCZ Leadership Views Yakovlev Visit
PM2311165588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague, 18 Nov—A session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has discussed the progress of preparations for the next CPCZ Central Committee plenum, which will be held 15-16 December of this year. A CPCZ Central Committee draft resolution on the convocation of the 18th CPCZ Congress was also examined.

The session discussed the results of the working visit to the CSSR of A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his talks with M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and V. Bilak and J. Fojtik, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee. It was noted that the talks made an important contribution to the further development of cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU and to strengthening the unity between the two fraternal parties.

CSSR Leaders Express Thanks for Message
PM2811100588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CSSR leaders thank Soviets for republic formation anniversary congratulations]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, the entire Czechoslovak people, and ourselves we express sincere gratitude for the cordial congratulations and good wishes on the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

We would like to take advantage of this opportunity to express our resolve to continue developing and deepening the traditional relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our communist parties and countries in the interests of our peoples and of security and peace the world over. Together with you we are deeply convinced that the common policy of the CPSU and CPCZ, geared toward profound transformations in economic and public life on the basis of the comprehensive development of socialist democracy, offers new prospects for cooperation with one another.

We wish you, dear comrades, Soviet Communists, and all Soviet people big new successes in implementing the crucial tasks of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee

Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier

New Hungarian Premier Nemeth Congratulated

PM2911133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers congratulatory message to Hungary's Nemeth on new premiership]

[Text] To Comrade Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Esteemed Comrade Miklos Nemeth,

Please accept our cordial congratulations on your election as chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

We wish you success in your responsible work in this high post.

We are confident that the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to steadily expand and deepen in the general interests of the socialist community and in the cause of peace and progress.

The USSR Council of Ministers

Polish Leaders Express Thanks for Greetings

PM2811104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Untitled message of gratitude from Polish leaders to Soviet leaders]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Council of State and Council of Ministers, and the Polish people, and on our own behalf we express cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Soviet people for their congratulations on the 70th anniversary of Poland's acquiring independence.

Please accept, dear comrades, our cordial greetings and best wishes for further success in the implementation of the restructuring program and for the happiness and prosperity of the Soviet people.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

IZVESTIYA Comments on Albanian Jubilee

PM2811105388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by N. Viktorov: "Albania's National Holiday"]

[Text] On 29 November the Albanian people celebrate their national holiday—the day of liberation and the victory of the people's revolution.

The new Albania was born during the heroic national liberation struggle against the fascist occupiers and local reaction under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Albanian Workers Party). On 29 November 1944 Albanian national liberation army units, using the favorable conditions resulting from the Soviet Army's Balkan offensive, drove the last fascist invaders from their country, completing their motherland's liberation.

The formation of the provisional democratic government of Albania dealt a resolute blow to the plans of the internal and external reaction, which had tried to create an Albanian government abroad. The basic question of the popular democratic revolution—the question of power—was thus successfully resolved.

The Soviet Union rendered invariable aid to the Albanian people's struggle for national liberation and was the only country to denounce the Italian occupation of Albania in 1939, and in December 1942 issued the declaration "on Albania's independence." In November 1945 the Soviet Union recognized the provisional democratic government and established diplomatic relations with the people's Albania.

After the victory of the People's Revolution, broad opportunities opened up for the Albanian working people to implement radical socioeconomic transformations in the country. During these years a large amount of work was done to reorganize society on the basis of socialist principles, work which was greatly facilitated by the fraternal aid and support from the Soviet Union and from the other countries of the people's democracy. The strengthening friendship between the Albanian and Soviet peoples became an important factor which promoted the establishment and consolidation of a people's democratic system in Albania and its successful headway along the path of building socialism and strengthening the international positions of the young, independent republic.

But in the early sixties Soviet-Albanian ties were disrupted. The Soviet Union has never regarded the alienation between two socialist states as normal. Consistently advocating the normalization of relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Soviet Union is prepared to build them on the basis of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

Here it proceeds from the premise that the socialist states are united by far more than can divide them. They are linked by their adherence to a progressive social system, their adherence to the cause of peace and social progress. And one of the advantages of socialism, the 27th CPSU Congress noted, is its ability to find mutually acceptable solutions for even the most complex problems. Going halfway to meet each other in the search for ways of restoring normal relations between the USSR and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania would accord with the genuine interests of the Soviet and Albanian peoples and the cause of peace and socialism.

Congratulating the Albanian people on their national holiday, the Soviet people wish them happiness and prosperity and new successes in socialist building and in the struggle for peace and friendship between the peoples.

Moscow Meeting Marks Albanian Jubilee

PM3011171788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A session of the Central Board of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society held in Moscow 29 November was devoted to the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Albania from fascist occupation and to the victory of the People's Revolution. Sympathies for the heroic struggle of the Albanian people during World War II for the freedom and independence of their homeland and for their creative efforts along the road of socialist building were expressed in the speeches.

West Europe

MOSCOW NEWS Interviews Cypriot President

PM3011112688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 46, 13 Nov 88 pp 1, 13

[Interview with Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou by Yegor Yakovlev: "I'm A Fanatical Reader of 'MN'"]

[Text] The president doesn't reeally look like a president. He's volatile, smiles a lot and sometimes laughs—a loud, ringing laugh. When answering a question he looks at you in the eye. He answered my questions through a translator. I addressed him in Russian. Vasiliou's parents, who took part in the partisan war in Greece, had to spend nearly two decades abroad (his father and son were in the USSR).

A scientist and a specialist in marketing of world renown, Vasiliou set up his own Middle East Centre of Economic Research (KEMA). He was elected president eight months ago and left the centre to the members of the directorate.

The president's spacious study leads out onto a patio through four arcs. The arcs are covered by glass, like museum pieces. If you look through it you can see the burnt, worn bricks and bent lattices. The palace was burnt during the'74 coup. President Makarios managed to escape through one of the arcs in his study. Vasiliou saw where I was looking and started talking about the Cypriot problem.

Y.V.: The continued occupation of a considerable part of Cyprus by Turks contradicts the present situation in the world. Ways towards solving regional problems are being sought, and found, everywhere. I'm sure the time is right for solving the Cypriot problem. I'd like to express my gratitude to the Soviet Government, which puts our question among the regional problems to be considered in the dialogue between the two great powers—the USSR and the US. The things happening on our island, and maybe this is characteristic not only for Cyprus, are determined by the interrelations of two communities—Turkish and Greek, and at the same time by relations between Cyprus and Turkey. Thanks to the initiative of the UN Secretary-General, we are at the stage of talks between the two communities. We want Cyprus to be independent, reunited within the federative system, and demilitarized. This solution is in the interests of all Cypriots. It is also in the interests of Greece, Turkey and other countries in the region.

MN: You know our country well, I'm talking Russian to you. What do you think about present-day life in the USSR? Could we have started this process of renewal earlier?

Y.V.: The difficulty for me is that as president, I should not express a direct interest in the internal affairs of another country. Still I can say that I'm a 100 per cent advocate of perestroyka. But all that's going on in the USSR, the changes in the mode of thinking, the new approach to solving problems, glasnost, and so forth, could all have been started before. Soviet society reached the stage of development where it was no longer tolerable to make any secret of or to obstruct free dialogue which is going on now.

Readers' letters published by MN show that there are still quite a few people who don't like the objective picture of reality now being shown. I see in this confirmation of the political harm which has been done to society. For example, I read yesterday (in your paper's last issue) a letter from a World War II veteran, who thinks that the critical publications by MN provide weapons for the enemies of the USSR. But the enemy knew long ago about your shortcomings. Your publications do not provide anything new. However, your boldness in recognizing your own mistakes, shows your confidence in your own strength and your resolution not to make errors in the future.

The previous policy of the Soviet leadership is the main reason for the stagnation which the Soviet press has been writing about. But, as I see it, features of human nature were also evident then. They find expression irrespective of the system under which people live. People have the ability to remain calm—everything will pass over and turn out well. We rarely meet with people who look the truth boldly in the eye and, the more so—change what exists. Conservatism is a feature of many people. In the stagnation period it was turned into ideology, and that suited the majority.

MN: Naturally, humans are humans. But if we follow your logic, then we cannot expect any guarantees against another bout of conservatism. Is that right?

Y.V.: Conservatism plays a major role in the context of the one-party system if the latter operates only in one direction—from top to bottom. We need to get used to testing and testing decisions, and we need feedback. That's exactly why I think that glasnost is a sign of perestroyka's success.

MN: Still, what attracts you in perestroyka, and what causes doubt?

Y.V.: I became interested in politics precisely when perestroyka started. I didn't have time to go to the USSR, to speak with my friends there.

MN: Therefore, in politics, you're just as young as you are in perestroyka?

Y.V.: Yes. And, as we know, it's easier to criticize from outside.

I place glasnost among the most positive elements of perestroyka—it is both a condition of democracy and a barrier against abuses. The setting up of a law-governed state is the second most important element. There has been no independent justice since Stalin's times, but man must realize that he is protected by justice, and that this cannot be subjected either to the needs of the moment or friendly relations.

The third element (here I speak as a professional) is the overcoming of subjectivism in economics. Some people thought that economics can be managed without leaving the study. They called themselves Marxists and violated the most important idea of Marxism—that price depends on the real cost of the commodity, and not on a phone call from the study. The result is—errors in the system of prices, the ignoring of the market, the inability to liquidate the contradictions which piled up in the economic system without, finally, changing the system itself.

Another element of perestroyka which I welcome very much is the recognition that a number of functions in society can be better performed by individuals than by the state: the service industry, small trade and agriculture, to a considerable measure.

And I'd list first among the problems of perestroyka the scarcity of managers, people who know how to manage an enterprise, who are capable of analyzing the situation, who can make decisions themselves, without waiting for directives from above. Even though, of course, directives from above exist, in one form or another in any state.

MN: You don't belong to any party. And, as you said yourself, you've become a pro-politician only recently. Still, you've been elected president. Doesn't this fact reflect the nature of the political processes taking place in Cyprus? Perhaps, not only in Cyprus?

Y.V.: I must say for the sake of justice that, even though I wasn't a pro-politician, I always was interested in politics. As we say, I was a "political animal". The fact that a man was elected president in Cyprus who doesn't belong to any party is a positive event as I see it. In our country, with its presidential rule, where the president wields great power, it is very important to look at problems not through the eyes of one party, but of society as a whole. It is precisely due to my non-party status that I managed to create in Cyprus the unity needed for solving our national problem. It is hard to say how far this is useful internationally, because each country has its own features and traditions. But I'm sure that this freedom of movement between politics and life, that is, the possibility for a person who is not a pro-politician to rule a country, brings its results. My experience as manager and consultant, acquired over the past few years, is very useful.

MN: Don't you think that consolidating all forces to solve a national problem, consolidation independent of social programmes is a feature of new political thinking?

Y.V.: Yes, I do. [Vasiliou ends]

We spoke with the President on the morning of November 7. The same day, a large section of the Turkish community was allowed to cross to Nicosia, on the Greek-Cypriot side, to meet politicians for the first time and visit an embassy. The guests from the Turkish side chose the Soviet Embassy which was giving a reception that day in honour of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. As was said at the reception: The ice has started to melt, though there is still too much of it on this hot island.

And the last question:

MN: Our newspaper is now going out in Greek in Athens. Some of the copies will be brought to Cyprus. What have you to say about this?

Y.V.: I'm a fanatical reader of MN, and I can only welcome a Greek edition of this paper. Our readers will be able to understand better what people in the USSR are thinking and doing today. This is especially necessary for those who have always supported your country, who were its friends but who didn't have adequate information. I'm sure MN will help develop a new political thinking in the Greek world.

Murakhovskiy Receives Austrian Official

LD2511025988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2235 GMT 24 Nov 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 24 November, Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, received Tichy-Schreder, vice president of Austria's Federal Economic Chamber and a National Council deputy. During the meeting, some questions of Soviet-Austrian cooperation were discussed

Political & Social

USSR Supreme Soviet Sessions: 29 Nov-1 Dec

Shevchenko Speaks 29 Nov

PM3011151688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Speech by Deputy V.S. Shevchenko of Kotovskiy Electoral Okrug, Odessa Oblast (chairman of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium), delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! The present session will evidently be the last in this convocation. But it will undoubtedly hold an exceptionally important place in the country's life and the activity of the highest organ of state power. We deputies of the present composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet have a very great responsibility—that of adopting the first laws to implement the political reform; that of making radical changes to the structure and activity of the highest organs of power and justice, to the electoral system. And when we meet with our voters, we will have every reason to say: This was done for the sake of true people's power, in order to create the conditions for broad democratic transformations, to lead our society out of the period of stagnation and guarantee it against recurrences of the distortions that have taken place in both the recent and the more remote past.

This is the main crux of the amendments and additions to the draft laws, which are based on the ideas of the 19th party conference. They have received the support of the vast majority in the course of the nationwide discussion, and were approved at a CPSU Central Committee plenum yesterday.

A month ago we ratified the plan and budget for 1989. And everyone still remembers clearly the deputies' concern over how to strengthen the social thrust of the plan and budget and what must be done better to satisfy people's vital needs. All of us then came to a simple conclusion: It is necessary to do better work and achieve a major breakthrough in the economy.

Today it is becoming increasingly clear to us that accelerated economic development cannot be achieved without political reform, legal backup, the stepping up of monitoring of the course of the economic reform by the soviets, and the revival of their full power. That is why we deputies from the Ukrainian SSR fully support the proposal to establish the USSR Congress of People's Deputies as the country's highest organ of power and to transform the USSR Supreme Soviet into a permanent legislative, executive, and monitoring organ. In our view, in this capacity it will be able to ensure the creation of a legal base for restructuring and the monitoring of the activity of executive and administrative organs, and will actively influence the course of our society's renewal and the enhancement of the people's prosperity.

It is very important that along with the amendments and additions to the Constitution, a Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies is being adopted. It will undoubtedly boost the further devleopment of people's political activeness, enhance the role and responsibility of both electors and elected, and open up wide opportunities for an influx into the highest organ of state power of fresh forces capable of operating actively under conditions of democracy, taking decisions in the interests of the whole state, and upholding their voters' interests.

We also support the establishment of a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. We hope it will be an effective instrument for ensuring the supremacy of the law and a firm barrier in the path of arbitrary actions by departments, parochialism, and command and bureaucratic methods of leadership. After all, not infrequently union and, indeed, republican departments resolve their own departmental problems with disregard for the laws and without reckoning with regional, ecological, or demographic problems. This causes justified public indignation. And in the end, the interests of the whole state suffer.

And can it be right that after the ratification of the plan by the Supreme Soviet, when it has become law, fundamental changes are made to it without the Supreme Soviet being involved?

We believe that the Constitutional Oversight Committee should be a reliable obstacle in the path of such violations. It would be expedient also to give union republics the right of appeal to this body if departmental acts are contrary to their interests and do not accord with the USSR Constitution and union laws.

Since each republic has its own system of legislation, I think it would be right to set up republican constitutional oversight committees too. This will also promote the stability of law and order and the strengthening of the rule of law. We can no longer tolerate the fact that amendments are constantly made to the existing laws, including the republican codes, and often at the prompting of all-union bodies. For instance, the codes on administrative misdemeanors have been in operation in the republics for less than 4 years, yet more than 100 amendments and additions have already been made.

Or take the code of laws on labor. In the last 16 years half its articles have been amended. Yet it affects the interests of the entire working population. Therefore it is no accident that the courts grant nearly half the cases for reinstatement at work borught by people who have been unlawfully dismissed. There has recently been a significant increase in the number of complaints about violations of labor legislation to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium too. There is no need to demonstrate that stability in the law cultivates a respectful attitude to it and helps ensure its strict fulfillment.

As you know, a number of new legislative acts are now being drafted. We pin great hopes on the law on local self-management, which, as the report said, it is planned to adopt at the first session of the new Supreme Soviet. We realize that no one can decide matters for the soviets, but it is also necessary to define clearly in law the soviets' legal and material base. Only then will a soviet be well-founded and capable of assuming the full burden of responsibility for the state of affairs on its territory. To this end it is necessary to begin right away to involve everyone with an interest in this matter in the preparation of the law on local self-management.

I think the law can only gain if those taking part in drafting it include scientists and specialists not only from the center, but also from the localities, as well as experienced chairmen of ispolkoms of oblast, city, rayon, and even village soviets. That is, those who come up against a multiplicity of problems every day on the spot.

Comrade deputies! The adoption of the draft laws under discussion is, as you know, only the first step in the reform of the political system. But we must take this step today, without delay. The times are so crucial and the problems so acute that delay, the bureaucratic slowness in getting things moving that so many of us are used to, can only do harm. It is this that is not taken into account, evidently, by those comrades and groups of the public who submitted the proposal not to adopt the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution at present.

There were such proposals in our republic too. But they are isolated cases. The vast majority of the Ukrainian people (and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet received more than 120,000 responses from individual citizens and labor collectives) approve the draft laws and believe that postponing their adoption means postponing the revival of the soviets' full power and retarding the reform of the poltiical system and restructuring itself. We fully support the proposal to adopt the draft laws that are being discussed today.

On the other hand, let us analyze carefully: Whom do these proposals usually come from? Do they sincerely reflect the opinion of the people, in whose name they are supposedly put forward? Do their views and demands reflect the position of the working class and all those who create our material assets? Unfortunately, often they are very far removed from the people's concerns and pursue entirely different goals.

I think everyone should understand clearly that restructuring is not only rallies and emotional speeches, still less is it permissiveness. It is first and foremost organization and discipline, a high sense of responsibility, creative, constructive labor, and the contribution of every collective and every republic to augmenting Soviet society's material and spiritual assets.

History has shown repeatedly that great deeds can be accomplished only through close unity of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the peoples of our multinational country. We have been together at all the major turning points of history. So why is it that now, at perhaps one of the most significant, crucial moments, some people are trying to isolate themselves and counterpose the national to the international, to what is common to all mankind? In the face of the global problems hanging over the planet, even opposing countries and political systems are seeking ways to come together with a view to successfully resolving these problems. And they are finding a common language.

There is no denying that many problems and unresolved questions have accumulated in our life, in political and social practice. People have not only raised them during the discussion of the draft laws. They are raised every day. They are first and foremost questions of the quality of life, ecology, the development of the national culture and language.

Many problems have also accumulated in ethnic relations. Our party spoke honestly and openly about this at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. Ways of resolving them have been outlined. But it takes time. Although we should not, of course, postpone it for long. I think it would be right to form a constitutional commission at the very first Congress of People's Deputies. This commission should include representatives of all the union republics, and it should be instructed to prepare a draft new text of the country's Fundamental Law, so as to resolve comprehensively all the problems of our life.

Today what we need more than ever is a joint quest for the most sensible solutions, the consolidation of all society's forces, and not ultimatums or ambitions. So let us show more mutual understanding, good will, statesmanlike responsibility, and ordinary human reasonableness. All of us together!

We should always remember, and hand on to our children and grandchildren, that the strength of our system, of our state, lies in the peoples' friendship, in the close unity of the Soviet repbulics. Only together can we implement the revolutionary transformations planned by our party and state.

I believe the main task now for us deputies and for all the country's soviets is to channel the working people's energy in a constructive direction, working on the basis of people's enhanced political activeness and the nationwide support for the ideas of restructuring. It is our duty as deputies to monitor particularly the fulfillment of contractual commitments in each republic, so as not to let each other down, so as to ensure the development of the country's integrated national economic complex and the security of our multinational socialist motherland.

In conclusion I wish to note that the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers have done substantial work on the draft laws and made significant amendments arising from the nationwide discussion. Thus there is every reason to assert that the draft laws submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet have been drawn up on a truly democratic basis. They reflect the spirit of the time and the opinion of the majority of the Soviet people. I propose that they be adopted, with the amendments and additions incorporated. (Applause.)

Azerbaijan's Tatliyev Speaks

PM3011150388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 4-5

[Speech by Deputy S.B. Tatliyev of Stepanakertskiy Electoral Okrug, Azerbaijan SSR, (chairman of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium) delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

First of all allow me on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Azerbaijan to express full support for the provisions and conclusions in the report by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The reform of our society's political system is an important ingredient of restructuring, which was started and is taking place on the party's initiative. Moreover, it must be viewed in the context of ensuring the irreversibility of the resolute shift that the Soviet people have struggled to achieve away from command methods to the democratic functioning of the entire state mechanism.

The draft laws submitted for consideration are the outcome of a great deal of in-depth work geared to improving our political system, enshrining in the Constitution the democratic trends elaborated in the course of revolutionary restructuring, and asserting Lenin's ideas of genuine people's power. We are sure that they will bring us well along the path to a rule-of-law state. All the provisions of the proposed draft laws correspond to the decisions of the 19th party conference and take into account the union republics' sovereign interests.

In our view there is no substance in the attempts to create the impression that only a brief period was allegedly allowed for discussion. From the moment the Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference were published, the social atmosphere in our country has has been filled with cathartic ideas about the need for political reform. It was during the preparations for the conference and in particular after the decisions adopted by it that the discussion of the requisite transformations of our state's political system essentially began and the entire Soviet people were actively involved in it. In the Azerbaijan SSR alone more than 3,500 proposals and comments were made. The republic's working people by and large firmly supported all the fundamental positions of political reform.

The decisions adopted in the Estonian SSR were not overlooked either during the debate in our republic. I can say quite definitely that the vast majority of working people expressed disapproval in this connection.

We are members of a single union state, we are not isolated republics and must not be such. Each republic has obligations to the whole of Soviet society. We are obliged to assess even purely internal problems on the basis of the interests of the Soviet state as a whole, and, moreover, adopt firm political and legal positions.

Comrade deputies! Restructuring, as is known, has highlighted many problems which are part of the sad legacy of the past. I mean, in particular, interethnic relations. As is known, there will be a special discussion of these problems at a CPSU Central Committee plenum next year. But, because they are woven into the living fabric of the political structure of society, they are already having an appreciable effect on the course of restructuring.

In the light of the enhancement of the role of the country's supreme organs of power in strengthening the union of soviet republics, one should approve the steps being taken to overcome the Supreme Soviet chambers' lack of a definite function and the bestowal of powers on the Soviet of Nationalities, enabling it to consider and reflect to a considerably greater degree the interests of all the country's nations and ethnic groups.

As was noted at the 19th all-union party conference, we must pay special attention to processes which, unfortunately, anti-restructuring forces are trying to exploit, by dressing up as the people's demands things that reflect the narrow, group interests, if not mercenary interests of those who regard restructuring as a threat to their status.

Our republic has been living in a state of permament tension for 10 months. For 10 months we have been urging people to keep calm and be patient.

Why doesn't article 81 of the USSR Constitution, stipulating that "the sovereign rights of union republics are protected by the USSR," operate in this case? After all, on 18 July we saw the supreme interests of the Soviet state upheld at the top level, at a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, on the basis of constitutional norms.

We have seen such fundamental constitutional demands as the responsibility of state organs and officials to superiors consigned to oblivion.

In our view, the USSR Constitution should provide stronger real guarantees of the unshakeability of the principle of democratic centralism as Lenin understood it. The reform envisages a sharp increase in the role of soviets, putting them properly in charge of tackling local issues and broadening their powers. No one is likely to object to that.

The rights of local organs of power can and must be resolutely expanded, but any widening of these rights will also involve the presence of a definite framework and limits. As far as state organs are concerned the limits are determined by their competence. This is an absolute condition of the functioning of any democratic organism. This competence is delineated for the Congress of People's Deputies just as it is for any other lower component—oblast, rayon, or settlement. In simple terms, it is what the organ can and must do. It also presupposes what it must not and does not have the right to do.

In this connection, article 94 of the draft, which concerns the principles of soviets' activity, must be supplemented with an instruction guaranteeing the unconditional fulfillment of the demands on the binding nature of decisions by superior soviets as far as inferior soviets are concerned. This demand should extend to all components of the USSR political system—from the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to rural, settlement soviets.

And another comment. Many working people and the soviets' aktiv are voicing disagreement with what the drafts say about restrictions on the election of prosecutors as soviet deputies. This does not stem from the prosecutor's official position and could weaken the preventive force of supervision of the legality of of decisions.

In conclusion, I want to assure the deputies that party and soviet bodies in our republic are doing and will do everything necessary to stabilize the situation and strengthen the traditional internationalist positions.

I propose ratification of the draft laws.

Belorussia's Kamay Supports Drafts

PM3011160788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p4

[Speech by Deputy A.S. Kamay of Novobelitskiy Electoral Okrug, Belorussian SSR, (first secretary of Gomel Belorussian Communist Party Obkom) delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The principles and conclusions of the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the present session and the fundamental assessments and directives of the Central Committee plenum held the day before are fully consonant with present requirements concerning the need to fundamentally renew the political system of our society and ensure the transition to full power for local soviets.

In the last 3 and ½ years we have all been through a difficult political school. In the conditions of the rapid growth in public awareness and the upsurge of people's political activeness, we are steadily learning the science of democracy and glasnost and the art of solving the complex problems of restructuring.

Renewing and restructuring our common socialist home and strengthening its economic foundations, the party is essentially erecting the political superstructure afresh while turning to Lenin's blueprints and precepts for reference.

The fact that the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR have evolved precisely on this platform gives rise to a feeling of total satisfaction. What is more, it is perfectly valid that the reform has been initiated by the highest political state structures.

Openness, interest, and a desire to grasp the essence of these very important documents have characterized the discussions in our oblast. Everyone who so desired has been able to express his opinion. The absolute majority of people support the measures to restructure the present political system and regard them as something vitally necessary, actively working for the democratization of society.

It is true that, taking an objective, considered approach, you cannot fail to see that the proposed draft laws are distinguished by their creative thrust. People approve of the USSR Supreme Soviet's new functions, as a permanent body of legislation and control, the formation of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, which is so necessary to a rule-of-law state, and the establishment of legal guarantees against possible abuses of power. They regard with satisfaction the democratization of the election campaign and the transition to a working electoral system.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the drafts are being assessed from this kind of constructive standpoint. For example, at our very large enterprise, the "Gomselmash" association, which employs almost 35,000 people of 44 different nationalities, one in three working people took part in the discussion. The collective has submitted more than 250 proposals in all. And in other collectives the discussion has revealed a broad diversity of opinions and appraisals, which is in itself an important indicator of the active democratization of social processes. The discussions have touched on the questions of the structure and powers of the new bodies of authority, the procedure for forming the chambers, procedural aspects of elections, and other issues. The majority of amendments are designed to strengthen our multiethnic state. Many clarifications and observations are reflected in the additions incorporated in the draft laws submitted to the session.

In this respect the main point should be highlighted—the working people's thorough grasp of the need to see the above draft laws as the first stage in the reform of the Soviet state's political system implemented in accordance with the 19th all-union party conference decisions, ensuring the transition to real, strong people's power.

The discussion of the draft laws has also developed into an analysis of the work being done by party committees, local soviets, and labor collectives to fulfill the practical tasks of restructuring. I must point out that in the first 3 years, the oblast's national economic complex will have exceeded the 5-year plan targets in the basic indicators. The introduction of the new economic mechanism is being accompanied by attempts to run production in a thrifty, zealous, intensive manner. The positive features of these qualitative changes are appreciable.

We are aware that the real possibilities and potential created—particularly with regard to speeding up the solution of social problems—have not yet been fully brought into play. There are complications in providing the population with certain types of food and industrial goods and the severity of the housing problem is only slowly being eased. Questions concerning the further elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES require great and, to be frank, unremitting efforts. Instruments of glasnost are not working properly everywhere and the human factor is not really being employed. The absolute majority of report and election party meetings and city and rayon party conferences have been conducted in the spirit of these critical assessments.

The proposed amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution have a direct bearing on the sphere of union republic and interethnic relations. As is well known, their harmonization relates to the coming stages of political reform, which was discussed in detail yesterday at the Central Committee plenum and also at the present session.

The reality is that the seriousness of many problems has not been reduced and in some places, unfortunately, is even increasing. It is obvious that they are, to a considerable degree, the product of our past and present shortcomings in the formation of political culture and our underestimation of the importance of developing national consciousness and self-awareness. There are not and cannot be any trivial issues in ethnic relations. V.I. Lenin taught that the greatest tact and delicacy are needed in this respect. Bitterness in national policy is not a good thing.

We try to keep to the kind of approaches which generally make it possible to ease interethnic, historical, linguistic, and other kinds of tension, point various associations in the healthy direction of internationalism, and acquaint people with our common spiritual wealth. We meet positively-minded formations halfway and look for ways to involve them in the real work and tasks connected with restructuring. Work to explain the draft laws is being done with them in this context.

At the same time, we have observed cases of a negative attitude to some provisions of the documents under discussion. Analysis shows that this is connected with provocative actions by certain people who, pursuing their own arrogant aims, have adopted an attitude of national, economic, and political isolation.

Hiding behind slogans in support of restructuring, distributing various "appeals," statements, and leaflets, and conducting clearly unlawful actions, they are trying to destabilize the sociopolitical atmosphere. The danger of these people should not be underestimated, especially as they are joining forces with political extremism with nationalist overtones and get their ideological inspiration from the ever-increasing pressure exerted by Western services.

Facts like these cannot be tolerated. There is no such thing as democracy without laws. With a sense of responsibility to restructuring and socialism, we must actively oppose those who embark on this course and threaten the most sacred thing of all—our historical union and friendship among all peoples.

We wholeheartedly support the clear, principled stand taken by the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. The decision it adopted accords with the ideas and humane aims of restructuring. Every practical step taken on the path of renewal must carefully consider all the diversity of interests of our multiethnic Soviet state and strengthen rather than disunite our fatherland. The unity of nations and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union is socialism's greatest achievement, which we must always do our utmost to protect.

Comrade deputies! The draft laws submitted for discussion by the present USSR Supreme Soviet session represent an accumulation of democratic mechanisms of state management which strengthen restructuring's positions, make it irreversible, and ensure full power for local soviets, as the basis of socialist statehood and people's self-government. I propose they be adopted. (Applause)

Uzbek's Nishanov Denounces OGONEK

PM3011154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by Deputy R.N. Nishanov of Margilanskiy Electoral Okrug, Uzbek SSR, (first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee), delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! In the opinion of all representatives of Soviet Uzbekistan and the Karakalpak Autonomous Republic in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the documents we are discussing today reflect the course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. The draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSSR which were submitted for nationwide discussion confirm our party's loyalty to the promise it made to the people that it would implement profound changes in the political system. The draft laws pave new ways for the democratization of sociopolitical life both in our entire state and in its constituent parts, the multinational republics.

Very many suggestions and additions to the draft laws were proposed at meetings of Uzbekistan's labor collectives, in party organizations, and in the press. Their essence primarily boils down to principled support for the CPSU's course of implementing the reform of the political system as an inalienable part of restructuring. At the same time, there were quite a few different opinions, heated arguments, and debates. Diametrically opposite views were quite often expressed on one and the same question. Numerous corrections and additions were suggested. All these suggestions were summed up and passed on to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Some corrections were taken into account, while some others will be examined at the next stage of political reform.

Against the background of virtually universal approval of the draft laws, certain points appear downright absurd. For example, the question of the expediency of making any corrections at all to the Constitution, as well as the hasty and unconsidered steps being taken in places in the process of preparation for the reform of the political system.

Proceeding from the premise that all union republics enjoy equal rights, how legitimate is it, for example, to raise the demand that individual union republics—even as represented by their supreme state organs—should be given the right to suspend the operation of all-union acts? After all, such an approach infringes the interests of other union republics and of the union as a whole. How can we tolerate, comrades, the fact that the influence of noisy parochial ambitions and emotional outbursts have produced terms which insult human dignity, terms like "emigree," "nonindigenous," "undesirable resident," and so on and so forth. I think that we must display the utmost vigilance and must exercise a special approach and state wisdom when the issue concerns the strength of our fatherland, of our union; we must clearly realize that any action aimed at weakening and diluting the international cohesion of Soviet peoples and at the nonobservance of USSR constitutional provisions can inflict irreparable damage on the cause of socialism, the cause of restructuring, the cause of our society's revolutionary renewal.

The democratization of the political system will lead, as we understand it, to a condition of statehood whereby all forms of Soviet nationalities policy will really reflect and rigorously uphold both common interests and the specific interests of nationalities; the complete solution of their social, language, and cultural problems will secure their fair representation in party, soviet, and other organs at all levels, the consistent consideration at local level of the needs of representatives of indigenous and other nationalities especially in the spheres of education, contacts, and people's creativity, and the creation of seats of national culture and the utilization of the mass media to satisfy the spiritual requirements of all Soviet people regardless of where they live.

Ours is a multinational republic. We are proud of this, and we are doing everything to further strengthen and develop our union, our fraternal relations and close cooperation along all avenues of economic and cultural building. The existence, daily life, and labor activity shared by the multitude of nations and ethnic groups, and the interaction and reciprocal enrichment of cultures, traditions, and temperaments create the most fruitful prerequisites for our region's all-around socioeconomic and political development.

I would like to repeat the well known idea that the path of a nation's development in isolation and exclusiveness, its withdrawal into a circle of narrowly national interests, never have been and never will be historically promising. This could ultimately lead to national degeneration. Evidence of this can be seen in the experience of world civilization.

I would also like to express my attitude toward the currently widely discussed question of regional economic accountability. There can be no denying the fact that this idea contains grains of rationality and a certain promise. The economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost] of rayons, oblasts, and republics should drive the entire national economic complex to a new and higher level. At the same time, however, this question is not as simple as it might appear at first glance, and it must be solved in a well thought and considered fashion, proceeding in each specific case not only from local but also from our common interests.

One can perfectly well understand the desire to gain full economic autonomy for a region. Nevertheless, perplexity is caused by attempts to do this without taking existing realities into account, using methods which run contrary to the principles of socialist integration, attempts to make a clean break [rezat po zhivomu] as it were.

A hard and complex process of overcoming the burdensome legacy of stagnation is now under way in our republic. The complexity of this process stems from the fact that it is necessary not just to reconstruct but largely to build from scratch new socioeconomic and political structures and make them function efficiently.

I cannot say that we have achieved a fundamental breakthrough. Far from it. Much has changed, however. Social awareness is being turbulently galvanized, and new forms of economic activity—economic accountability and lease contracts—are being widely disseminated and introduced. The cooperative movement is developing at a rapid rate, there is an ongoing quest for new forms and varieties of economic mutual relations.

There have been promising changes also in our cotton growing economy. A good harvest was picked, and without using any defoliants, either. This year's plan for the picking of raw cotton was fulfilled with minimum involvement of the urban workforce, mainly by using machines. For the first time in many years the cotton harvest—a total of 5.35 million tonnes, which is 100,000 tonnes above plan—was picked in a calm atmosphere, without unnecessary fuss, without any economic, moral, or nervous losses. Our cotton growers are proud of this. But they were insulted by the journal OGONEK, which called cotton growers "cotton slaves." Cotton growers never have been and never will be slaves. As for OGONEK [literally "Little Flame"], it ought to burn in vivid flames and warm people with its heat, encouraging them to accomplish labor feats for the sake of restructuring, rather than smoldering and poisoning people with its noxious smoke. (Applause)

And to conclude, comrades. The development of democratization and glasnost awakened social initiative in our republic just as it did in other republics, it created prerequisites for the manifestation of diversity of opinions and views. In itself, the process of boosting people's social activeness, of the clash of ideas, positions, and concepts, is logical and natural in the context of restructuring. But the logic of our onward advance and the algorithms of renewal demand that any manifestation of pluralism, any upholding of one's opinions, and any formation of platforms and programs of informal trends or groups should be constructive rather than destructive, that they should further not the division but the consolidation of forces for the sake of the prosperity of our common home, the USSR.

It can be said with absolute certainty that the suggested transformations in the political system and its democratization constitute the latest landmark along the path toward the acquisition of new qualities by soviets at both central and local level, toward vesting them with the totality of power for which the USSR peoples have striven throughout their rich history.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia support the points in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies subject to the suggested additions and amendments. (Applause)

Lithuania's Astrauskas Speaks

PM3011120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Speech by Deputy V.S. Astrauskas of the Vilnyusskiy Electoral Okrug, the Lithuanian SSR, and chairman of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, given at the 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers in Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! All strata of the population of Soviet Lithuania welcomed with sincere interest the instructions of the 19th party conference, and they are uniformly in favor of accelerating and deepening restructuring.

The Lithuanian working people link the diverse and sometimes hard process of restructuring with the embodiment of the ideas of the power of the people, the sovereignty of the republic, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and a return to Lenin's principles of a Soviet federation.

The forthcoming reform of the country's political system, which should open up the maximum scope for society's self-management and create conditions for the full development of the initiative of citizens, representative organs of power, party and public organizations, and labor collectives, has met with broad support in the republic.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's profoundly reasoned report at today's session and the measures outlined for subsequent stages instill the conviction that the reform of the political system will ensure conditions for the further free development of each nation and ethnic group, that it will consolidate their friendship and equal cooperation, and that it will strengthen the USSR. We support Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's proposal for creating a working group to study and prepare the status [as published] of the union republic.

The reform of the political system should be of a comprehensive nature and should be implemented in unison with the restructuring of the economy. The real situation which has taken shape in the economy and in social development requires qualitatively new decisions. Essentially the administrative system of management has led to the uneven development of the republic's production forces and to disproportions. For instance, surely it is not normal that less than 10 percent of industry's fixed-production capital currently comes under the jurisdiction of the republic? Despite the measures which are being taken to improve management, so far there are almost no practical moves toward decentralization. Faith in the omnipotence of union resolutions is still retained, and the flow of these resolutions is not drying up. For instance, last year alone 20 union resolutions determining the development of virtually all sectors of Lithuania's national economy and social sphere were adopted, often without proper consultation with the republic.

Often, without taking into account the republic's real potential, the center takes arbitrary decisions which in fact impose the expansion of already large production capacities. This causes a high migration rate among the population, aggravates social and ecological problems, and creates an environment extremely dangerous to people's health.

To resolve these and other vitally important problems it is essential to enhance the status of union republics and to transfer to the localities real power in administering socioeconomic development.

The concept of republican economic accountability [khozraschet] elaborated in Lithuania is aimed at this. In our view, this idea should not be made narrower nor should doubt be cast on it. While considering the country's overall interests. [sentence as publishes] After all, the life of each republic is distinguished by its inherent uniqueness so that the republics can have their own approaches and their own ways of resolving problems. That is why the center should keep for itself only the main, key tasks which only the center—a strong center—should indeed resolve on the scale of the country, while it would be correct to hand over everything else to the jurisdiction of the republic.

Without the handing over of the solution of many questions to the localities, without the full power of the soviets, without the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs, without genuine independence for the labor collectives, we cannot hope for the intensification of restructuring.

These basic aspirations are being painstakingly, I would say scrupulously, checked against the draft laws on amendments and additions to the country's constitutions and on elections of USSR people's deputies.

People now are reacting particularly sensitively and keenly to any attempt to restrict their independence, initiative, and enterprise. They have grown tired of living by orders from above which for decades have fettered their self management and led to social apathy and indifference.

Initially the drafts of these laws were greeted cautiously or with overt cynicism in the republic. Many people expressed their disappointment, even seeing in the drafts' clauses a failure to comply with the spirit and letter of the decisions of the 19th party conference. There was something of everything: businesslike proposals and reasoned criticism, emotions, and sometimes even passions. At the initiative of the Lithuanian movement for restructuring, "Sajudis," over 1.8 million signatures, according to the movement's figures, were collected demanding that the published drafts should not be examined. Discussions and debates are continuing even now.

Basically the question was put everywhere as follows: Do the proposed amendments ensure constitutional guarantees of the republic's autonomy, do they not restrict Lenin's principles of the Soviet federation? There are indeed many problems in this field. The Communists and nonparty people expect a lot from the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities issue.

We fully realize that without the first stage of political reform subsequent steps in that direction cannot be taken. That is why the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session approved the draft laws' provisions aimed at democratizing the election process and forming the supreme organs of state power. At the same time the deputies expressed their disagreement with the clauses of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution which enshrine the centralization of power and restrict the republic's sovereignty. It is a good thing that many of these clauses have now been excluded from the draft laws submitted for examination by the present session.

It seems to us that it is not worthwhile for the Supreme Soviet of the present convocation, which is nearing the end of its term, to define the powers and forms of activity of the new organs of power. At this stage of the reform of the political system it would be possible to constitute these organs in the most general form and hand over to newly elected deputies the solution of key questions of constitutional regulation.

We suggest forming a special commission with competent representatives of all republics to prepare a new draft of the country's Constitution. In our view work would be performed to supplement and amend the republics' constitutions. We have already embarked on this work: The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet has created a representative commission of deputies for the purpose.

Understanding the need to change the election procedure, many people are also voicing the opinion that the election of one-third of deputies from public organizations and the multilevel nature of elections of the supreme organs of power do not fully comply with the development of the process of democratization.

And about the procedure for forming the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities. Although equal norms have been set for the representation of the union republics, those republics which do not include autonomous formations will as a whole have considerably fewer votes than those which have such formations. Autonomous formations must in no way be encroached upon. But they could be more strongly represented in the republics' supreme organs of power.

Complex processes are now taking place locally. Various strata of the population, in an unorganized, essentially noble movement, are being increasingly bold in raising problems which have accumulated over the decades—problems of an economic nature and of violations of social justice and socialist legality. Many people want to overcome everything negative as rapidly as possible and they cannot wait to dash forward to scale qualitatively new heights of the renewal of society, sometimes failing to take account of realities and failing to consider that restructuring is a protracted, contradictory, and difficult process. The practice of work in the republic under the conditions of restructuring also attests to the fact that many soviet and economic organs and party and other public organizations are not acting vigorously enough at this breakthrough stage and sometimes they lag behind the masses' social activeness.

The "Sajudis" movement for restructuring and other informal associations have become a real phenomenon in the republic. The well-known figures of culture, scientists, and writers rallied together in them have raised a number of vital problems of the democratization of society. They are awakening people's self-awareness and calling for a struggle against everything delaying our restructuring. Excesses are allowed in these processes and different, sometimes extremely opposite, opinions clash. It is not easy for everyone to find their way in today's events. Of course, our experience of the pluralism of opinions is still quite modest. We are all only beginning to learn real democracy.

We proceed from the premise that what is needed is the consolidation of all strata of society, constructive dialogue, and, the main thing, specific steps to implement the program for the country's socioeconomic development. At the same time, under the conditions of the democratization of society, methods of pressurization and intimidation, a monopoly on the only correct opinion, irritability, and intolerance toward those who think differently are unacceptable. This approach toward any question is regarded with disapproval by the broadest strata of the population.

Comrade deputies! We do of course understand that we are only at the start of the path which should lead us to genuine power of the people and the creation of a rule-of-law state. Difficult, crucial work awaits us. And the destiny of restructuring will depend on how successfully we cope with it.

Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

29 Nov Session Summarized

PM3011123988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The extraordinary, 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the 11th convocation, began work in Moscow on 29 November 1988.

The first joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities began at 1000 in the Great Kremlin Palace. It was chaired by A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The session was attended by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, and O.D. Baklanov.

At the proposal of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approved by the chambers' Councils of Elders, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the session's agenda and order of work.

The following questions are on the agenda:

On measures to implement the political reform in the sphere of state building.

On the elections of USSR people's deputies.

The USSR Supreme Soviet began the examination of the items on the agenda.

The report on measures to implement the political reform in the sphere of state building was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Deputies V.S. Shevchenko, A.S. Kamay, I.I. Zhirnov, R.N. Nishanov, V.P. Yefremov, and S.B. Tatliyev spoke in the debate on the report.

The second joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities began at 1500. The session was chaired by Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

The debates on the items on the agenda continued. Deputies G.V. Kolbin; Z.N. Pukhova; A.N. Fadeyev; V.S. Astrauskas; V.I. Mironenko; V.S. Mavlikov; A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.P. Pallayev; B.V. Kravtsov; V.K. Mesyats;

D.I. Patiashvili; N.I. Popov; T.A. Zhumakanov; R.Kh. Khabibullin; N.P. Otke; V.D. Zhilovskiy; K.T. Turysov, and K.Yu. Lavrov spoke in the debates.

The session continues.

30 Nov Session: Speakers Listed

LD3011123188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 8

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The following people spoke at the Supreme Soviet's morning session:

Deputies Prokopyev, first secretary of the Yakut Oblast Party Committee; Danilchenko, secretary of Leningradskiy Rural Soviet Committee, Krasnodar Kray; Kazakov, deputy chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers; Ketryan, team leader of machine operators of the Kishinev 60-let Oktyabra Works; Masaliyev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee; Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet; Dubko, chairman of the Progress Kolkhoz in Grodno Oblast; Niyazov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenia Central Committee; Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Bobovikov, first secretary of the Vladimir Oblast CPSU Committee; Abdurrakhmanova, decorator of the Angren Construction Administration, Uzbek SSR; and Kostenyuk, chairman of the Orenburg Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

At the rostrum is Deputy Valentin Afanasyevich Koptyug, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Begin Koptyug recording] The proposed amendments and addenda to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies have been more widely discussed in the country than ever before. Many collectives in the organizations of the Novosibirsk scientific center of the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences were in favor of direct elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and even more collectives advocated direct elections of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Even given the great importance of the other matters discussed, the issue of preserving the unity of our multinational country is the most important of all. We must firmly say "No!" to any ultimatums and provocative publications and actions. We deputies—and particularly the deputies of the Baltic republics—must display civic and political maturity, perspicacity, and wisdom, so that in the future we need feel no shame before our peoples and before history. [end recording]

Legislative Bodies Submit Proposals

LD3011160688 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The commissions on legislative proposals of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR—had a meeting in the Kremlin today.

The meeting was chaired by Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee.

The commissions considered suggestions of the deputy preparatory commission [as received] on proposals concerning the draft laws on amendments to the Constitution and elections of people's deputies, made during the drafts' discussion at the Supreme Soviet session.

The commissions submitted their recommendations on this issue to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

30 Nov Proceedings Listed

PM0112133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Sittings"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] On 30 November the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued its work in Moscow.

The third joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities took place at 1000 in the Great Kremlin Palace. A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, presided.

The following were present at the sitting: Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, and O.D. Baklanov.

The discussion of the questions on the session's agenda continued.

The following deputies spoke in the debate: Yu.N. Prokopev, L.M. Danilchenko, A.F. Ryuytel, V.I. Kazakov, V.A. Koptyug, O.V. Ketryan, A.M. Masaliyev, A.I. Dubko, S.A. Niyazov, G.M. Voskanyan, R.S. Bobovikov, Kh.A. Abdurakhmanova, and A.G. Kostenyuk.

At this point the debate ended.

The USSR Supreme Soviet instructed the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions to examine the proposals and remarks on the draft laws voiced by the deputies in the debate and to report the results to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On the same day a sitting of the Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities took place in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of G.P. Razumovskiy.

The commissions examined the proposals of the deputies' preparatory commission regarding comments and amendments to the Draft Law on Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, which emerged during the discussion of them at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The commissions submitted their recommendations on this question to the USSR Supreme So viet Presidium.

The session is continuing its work.

Armenia's Voskanyan Speaks

PM0112122288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Speech by Deputy G.M. Voskanyan of Echmiadzinskiy Electoral Okrug, Armenian SSR (chairman of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium), delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade deputies! In all my years of work I cannot remember a draft law ever being discussed so energetically and committedly before. In our republic, both in the labor collectives and at places of residence, there were stormy debates on various provisions of the drafts. The discussion went beyond the bounds of the published drafts and also covered other articles of the USSR Constitution, the examination of which belongs to the second stage of the political reform. That is only natural, because people like the ideas of the 19th all-union party conference and are eager to accelerate restructuring in all spheres of our life, including state building. Many proposals and observations made by working people in the course of the discussion of the draft laws were relatively constructive. Many of them are already reflected in the draft laws submitted for discussion by the present session.

The working people of Armenia showed a special interest in those articles and provisions that concern ethnic relations. These proposals are of great value, because they are drawn from the lessons of the past, a past that, it cannot be denied, was sometimes bitter and unjust. They will help us, as the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Improving Ethnic Relations in the USSR" says, to raise all work on improving ethnic relations to a new level, achieve true harmony of interests of all the country's nations and ethnic groups on the principles of socialist internationalism, autonomy and responsibility, mutual assistance, and fraternity, and ensure the strengthening and further development of our multinational state. Changes in this section of the USSR Constitution are simply essential.

In view of the fact that a CPSU Central Committee plenum on ethnic questions is to be held next year, we support M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to set up a commission now to include major specialists in ethnic and interethnic relations, including some from union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts, in order to study all observations on these issues and subsequently to submit constructive proposals for examination at the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum with a view to the inclusion of appropriate amendments in the USSR Constitution.

In the course of discussion of the drafts there was also disagreement with individual provisions of the documents under discussion, as well as proposals to revise the USSR Constitution in its entirety. It seems to me that this matter should be approached in a businesslike manner, with the maximum utilization of the grains of sense that are contained in the working people's proposals. Therefore I wish to dwell only on certain aspects of the drafts under discussion.

Concern was voiced in connection with the restriction of the sovereign rights and competence of the union republics by the proposed amendments to the USSR Constitution. This frequently arises from the vagueness of certain articles on this question. I think these articles should be formulated so precisely and clearly that there is no room for variant readings.

There have been many comments on Point 13, Article 119 of the draft Constitution, which seems to create preconditions for the violation of a union republic's sovereign rights. It is a question of the need for special forms of government in individual regions or throughout the country. The Legislative Proposals Commissions have taken account of these comments, and this is reflected in the new edition of this article.

As you know, at the 18 July USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session M.S. Gorbachev called on us to go halfway to meet each other in resolving this serious problem, noting that every issue has its own dynamics and development, and that this applies to the issue of national relations, too.

We are very concerned about the situation existing in the republic. For 10 months now the population has been in a state of extreme turmoil.

I must say that the republican leadership is doing everything possible to stabilize the situation. It must be admitted that we do not always succeed in this. Here a part is also played by certain forces that are interested in maintaining such a situation. But we are working steadily to consolidate all healthy forces.

Comrade deputies! Our party has proclaimed the creation of a rule-of-law state to be its aim. The draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion are the base on which a renewal program that will take many years will be built. In the course of the discussion of the draft laws they were supplemented with new proposals and became more profound. I am certain that by taking into account the amendments made to the drafts under discussion by the Legislative Proposals Commissions, the adopted laws will more fully reflect the high pitch of thinking, debate, and discussion about the future of our state that restructuring has aroused.

I agree with the proposals to ratify the Laws "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR" and "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" taking into account the additions and amendments. Thank you. (Applause.)

Ryuytel Speech Published

PM3011205188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Speech by Deputy A.F. Ryuytel of Vilyandiskiy Severnyy Electoral Okrug, Estonian SSR, (chairman of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium) delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! Today the supreme organ of power is summing up the results of the nationwide discussion of extremely important draft laws in the sphere of state building. The discussion is very intense and committed, which is a reflection of the fundamental changes which have taken place in the political climate of our society as described in detail in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report.

The deputies elected to represent Soviet Estonia, just like all the people's representatives present in this hall, see their duty in ensuring that the process of restructuring which has begun does not come to a halt, does not remain confined to the sphere of social awareness, but finds its physical embodiment in new democratic structures and procedures as soon as possible. In this we see the special significance and crucial responsibility of the present moment. Therefore it is not surprising that the course of restructuring initiated by the party has met with unprecedentedly vigorous support from the public of the Estonian SSR.

The decisions of the 19th party conference, whose spirit has filled the hearts of all Soviet people with joy, served as a great impulse which has galvanized us into action. In conditions of glasnost the whole range of questions pertaining to restructuring is being discussed in the republic. They comprise the improvement of the political structure of our society and new approaches to the organization of society's economy.

Discussing widely the causes of the crisis situation in the economy, we are deeply convinced of the need to improve both the economic mechanism and the political structure and social management of our republic in particular. This activeness and broad support for everything that promotes the course of restructuring has to be viewed as a natural phenomenon. Socialism must be the living creation of the broad masses. This Leninist precept has become the central idea of restructuring.

Comrades! After the 19th party conference the idea of regional economic accountability and self-financing began to gradually gain ground. The essence of this concept lies in deciding by what ways and methods we should accelerate the economic and social development of our country and, on this basis, raise the Soviet people's living standards. This range of problems is being discussed in our republic with great interest in all labor collectives, the Academy of Sciences, and the government.

Examination of the questions of economic accountability and self-financing has revealed that it is extremely difficult to find an option which would represent the optimum solution for all the regions of our vast homeland. It is not surprising, therefore, that we have formulated our own perception of this matter, which may help us, and possibly also other republics, to cope with the economic difficulties and attain a modern standard of production which we all need so much.

The lively discussion of the ways to ensure the republic's economic accountability has induced our public to also ponder the legal basis that would ensure that regional economic accountability becomes an effective means of attaining the social, cultural, and economic development of our country. The working people of the republic deeply believe in this.

In our opinion, the successful introduction of republic economic accountability presupposes a certain level of independence in the adoption of economic decisions and the management of social life.

The time has probably also come to renounce the excessive fragmentation of the economy between the spheres of action of numerous all-union ministries and departments in so far as the role of the republic Council of Ministers and of the soviets of people's deputies will have to be enhanced. Without this we are not likely to achieve flexibility in the economic management of the country, bearing in mind the tremendous diversity of natural, economic, and human resources in various regions.

When the USSR draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitutition and on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR were published, a lively discussion opened in Estonia on the concept of the reorganization of federal power—the first stage of the political reform—which is contained in these drafts. It appeared to many people then that the drafts do not entirely correspond to [ne sovsem adekvatny] the decisions of the 19th party conference and that they curb the sovereign rights of republics.

The view was expressed that not enough time has been allowed for their nationwide discussion. More than 20,000 letters from labor collectives and social organizations, movements, and individual citizens, and also party and soviet organs served as the reason for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the republic supreme soviet. You are familiar with the reaction to its decisions and legislative initiative from the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We have now convinced ourselves from our own experience how complex and contradictory the process of democratization is. I would just like to note that the documents adopted at the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet were brought about by the situation which had taken shape in our republic of late. The basis for this was provided by a long period of extensive development of the republic's economy when production forces were developed in our republic mainly on the basis of imported raw materials and resources and departmental interests were given priority. This has inflicted considerable damage on the ecological situation and resulted in drastic changes in the composition of the republic's population. Other "sore points" also emerged.

All this provided an additional impulse toward the adoption of the aforementioned documents which have evoked criticism against us here. At the same time the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 26 November notes the need to recognize the expediency of elaborating within the framework of the next stage of political reform and on the basis of constitutional norms a system of measures to create state law mechanisms to safeguard the political and socioeconomic interests of union republics and expand and protect their sovereign rights within the USSR. As the speeches of a number of deputies have borne out, this proposition also has the support of other republics.

Comrades! Many amendments with which we agree have already been introduced in the draft laws submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Before the laws in question are adopted it is to be hoped that their final wording will leave no place for stereotyped provisions which do not take account of the specific characteristics and requirements of republics and regions. We would like, for example, to preserve the republic supreme soviet as the sole organ of state power and avoid the creation of an additional higher organ—the Congress of People's Deputies of the Estonian SSR—and also to retain the republic's right to determine the system of election of people's deputies.

In the process of the further improvement of constitutional legislation we would consider it correct for all the union republics to play a real part in this.

We believe that in a period of such large-scale transformations as our restructuring it is necessary to take care to ensure that the elaboration of legal norms [normotvorchestvo] does not lag behind the development of our life. At present many legislative acts have turned into a brake on the development of productive forces and social life.

Comrades! Today the most important thing for our republic is the full consolidation of all social forces and citizens around the course of restructuring. The decisions of both the 19th party conference and the 11th Estonian Communist Party plenum represent a definite step in this direction for us.

The situation is complex and in many ways contradictory, of course, and therefore any insufficiently objective coverage of events in our republic in the mass media can lead to additional complications.

In conclusion I wish to say that Estonia, following the party's course, will concentrate all its efforts on deepening the processes of restructuring and the further democratization of society. (Applause).

Ryuytel Interviewed

LD3011202688 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "Echo of the Day" program: interview with Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by unidentified correspondent; in Moscow on 30 November—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Speeches continued here in Moscow today. In the morning, Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of our republic's supreme soviet, also was given the floor. On what did you concentrate in your speech, in the main?

[Ryuytel] Mainly on those problems that are topical in our republic and that are on the agenda there. That means, first and foremost, those burning issues that have developed in our republic over the decades. I also attempted to explain to the public at large the causes of these issues because the public at large in the Soviet Union does not know the situation or the problems of our republic.

[Correspondent] Yes, the simple statement is: What else do you want?

[Ryuytel] Yes, indeed. The understanding is that social standard and levels in our republic are higher than in other union (?republics) and that things are fairly good here with respect to everyday life. So, then, where is the problem? There is no accurate understanding (?in this respect).

[Correspondent] Here in Moscow recently, talk about reorganizing the political system by stages has gotten underway very seriously. When the amendments to the Constitution and the election law were promulgated for public discussion, we did not seem to know much about it at all.

[Ryuytel] I think that this is quite a natural phenomenon because restructuring, as it is known, has brought forth very many new problems that up to now had been thought [passage indistinct]. In addition, those proposals that have been gathered together in the course of this discussion evidently have brought with them new ideas and modes of understanding that would have been difficult to predict. Hence, of course, the need for (?practical) political reform to be carried out in stages.

Of course, this idea is not today's [words indistinct]; it existed before, as well, but I think it has risen much more prominently to be placed on the agenda. I stressed in my speech, as I have stressed on previous occasions, that in reality we should be well aware of and know those processes that are about to be formulated in society. According to assumption [passage indistinct] Often when there is no corresponding legislation worked out, meaning that the restructuring processes in society are taking place according to the old rules [passage indistinct] then I think it is clear to all of us that they act like a brake on social development. People often (?get tired), conflicts and contradictions arise—do you not agree?—and the person who fights for what is new can be compromised and in some cases even suffer harsh punishment (?because) he acted unlawfully. [passage omitted] people have been brought up in a different spirit. He must always observe the law [passage indistinct] this presupposes very seriously thought-out legislative (?acts) [passage indistinct]

Leaders at 1 Dec Session Noted

LD0112095788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] As already reported, the extraordinary, 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation is continuing today in the Great Kremlin Palace. The fourth joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities began at 1200. Taking part in it are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov.

The discussion of measures to implement political reform in the sphere of state construction is coming to an end. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is now winding up the session.

Volskiy Speech on Ethnic Conflicts

LD0112132188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec (TASS)—At today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), after the discussion of the main agenda, Arkadiy Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium spokesman for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], addressed the deputies in reply to a question tabled by a group of deputies from Armenia on the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

Arkadiy Volskiy reported that the first steps have now been taken to implement the resolutions on the NKAO adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government. This has helped to get moving some neglected aspects of the oblast's socioeconomic development. The artificial alienation of the Armenian part of the NKAO's population from Armenia has begun to be overcome.

However, Arkadiy Volskiy assessed, many strata of the population had been drawn into a struggle for the separation of the oblast from Azerbaijan "to such an extent that emotions have overwhelmed reason". The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium spokesman said that the situation today in Azerbaijan and Armenia "has acquired an openly threatening character." He sees the sources of the present crisis primarily in "the crudest distortions of the nationalities policy" by the former leadership of both republics.

"The latest events have shown particularly clearly that many levers of power remain as before in the hands of various kinds of clans in Azerbaijan and in Armenia," Arkadiy Volskiy stated. The placement of these clans "even now influences the general atmosphere." For them, the speaker said, the NKAO is just small change.

He drew attention to the heightening of the role of corrupt people such as Manucharov, who was recently arrested in the NKAO for major bribery. According to his statement, certain party and Soviet bodies "are playing up to them".

Arkadiy Volskiy noted with alarm that there are virtually no steps toward meeting each other halfway in the two republics. On the contrary, any pretext is being used to fan the conflict. The mass media in both republics are also pouring oil on the flames.

"Both republics are literally seething," Volskiy continued. People have been killed and wounded. In order to prevent an escalation of violence, a special situation has been declared in a number of places.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium spokesman expressed the conviction that today "it is possible to curb the negative processes current in the region". According to him, there are plenty of honest people in the two republics who are striving to bring normalcy to the situation. A positive shift has now taken place, he observed.

Arkadiy Volskiy reported that following visits to the NKAO, Baku, and Yerevan, the commission on interethnic relations of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet is nearly finished drafting the proposals for a way out of the situation that has arisen. They will be submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium when they are ready.

He also said that today, following the conclusion of the session of the USSR's legislature, that the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state would be meeting with deputies from Azerbaijan and Armenia to work out measures to stabilize the situation in the region.

Following Arkadiy Volskiy's address, the deputies adopted a resolution calling for the legislatures of the two republics to do everything possible so that the two neighboring peoples can live in peace and harmony.

Decision on NKAO Situation

LD0112155388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec (TASS)—Here is the text of the decision on the question by a group of deputies concerning the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

After hearing the question by a group of deputies and the reply to it by Deputy A.I. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for the NKAO, the USSR Supreme Soviet has decided:

1. To take into consideration the report by Deputy A.I. Volskiy on the situation which has come about in and around the NKAO.

2. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium jointly with the representatives of party, state, and public organizations to hold a conference of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the NKAO, the Azerbaijani SSR, and the Armenian SSR to discuss urgent measures to normalize the situation in that region and to restore internationalist friendship among citizens of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality.

3. To instruct the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijani SSR and the Armenian SSR to do all they can so that the peoples of the two fraternal republics can live in peace and harmony and work energetically on behalf of implementing the tasks of renewing all aspects of life in the Soviet socialist society.

4. The USSR Supreme Soviet appeals passionately to the working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan to display wisdom and restraint, to transcend their mutual offenses and blame, to ensure the smooth operation of enterprises, organizations and study institutions, to do everything within their powers so that every Soviet citizen of any nationality can feel while on the territory of both republics a full and equal participant in the great cause of restructuring that is being carried out by the Soviet people.

Chairman of the USSR Soviet Presidium

M. Gorbachev

Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili

The Kremlin, Moscow, 1 December 1988

Constitutional Amendments Approved

LD0112153188 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The debate in the Soviet parliament on two important draft laws, on amendments to the USSR Constitution and on elections, as well as today's voting showed that deputies were determined to make them correspond as much as possible to the ideas of the 19th party conference. The party forum held last summer outlined a thorough reform of the Soviet political system.

A major step in this direction was made today: The adopted laws renew the structure of the bodies of state power, the order of their formation and activities, and make the elections of people's deputies more democratic.

Half of the articles of both draft laws were re-edited ahead of the session as a result of a nationwide discussion, and many provisions were amended and made more precise in the course of the parliamentary debate.

Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Politbureau, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who spoke today at a joint sitting of the chambers told the audience which amendments had been taken into account by the commissions and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For example, major clarifications were introduced in the articles dealing with the rights of union republics. Some of the speakers pointed to the need for recording in law the right of a union republic to appeal to the committee for constitutional compliance if its interests run counter to departmental acts. This proposal was taken into consideration, Razumovskiy said.

On the proposal of Deputy Dzhumber Patiashvili from the Republic of Georgia an amendment was introduced to the effect that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet shall declare a state of emergency in separate regions after an obligatory discussion of this problem with the presidium of the supreme soviet of a corresponding republic. A proposal of Deputy Anatoliy Gorbunov from Latvia on the order of formation of the Council of the Union was also approved.

However, not all the amendments were supported. This refers, in the first place, to a proposal of Arnold Ryuytel from Estonia to the effect that the republics should be given the right to decide by themselves if they should have the Congress of People's Deputies as the supreme body of state power or should confine themselves to a continually operating supreme soviet. Razumovskiy explained that the uniformity of the basic principles of the formation of supreme bodies of state power is a significant guarantee of the unity of soviets, a guarantee of their strength. However, it will be up to the republics to decide what will be within the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Before the voting the floor was given to Deputy Dzemma Skulme from Latvia. She proposed to include the following provision in the Constitution: When problems are discussed that affect major interests of union republics there should be separate voting in the supreme bodies of state power by the groups of deputies from union republics, and the law should be considered approved if all the republican groups vote for it.

Her proposal was put to vote. Only 23 of 1,376 deputies of both chambers voted for it. Parliamentarians believe that this approach could seriously complicate the decision-making process.

Then the deputies approved the USSR draft Law "On Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" by separate voting in the two chambers. 1,344 deputies voted for, five against and 27 abstained.

The session unanimously approved by separate voting in the two chambers the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies."

Resolutions dealing with the order of the implementation of the new laws were also approved unanimously.

The USSR Supreme Soviet set the date of elections of USSR people's deputies. They are to be held on Sunday, March 26, 1989. A central electoral commission consisting of 35 people was set up. It is headed by Vladimir Orlov, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, until recently president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

AFP on Adoption of Amendments

WA0112140188 Paris AFP in English 1348 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Dec 1 (AFP)—The Soviet parliament overwhelmingly voted important reforms to the Constitution on Thursday permitting the election next year of a new head of state with sweeping powers.

Both houses of the Supreme Soviet—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—adopted the amendments. Only five of the 1,344 deputies voted against, with 27 abstaining in the single-motion vote, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE journalist at the Kremlin reported.

The changes to the 1977 Constitution will allow for the election next March of a new two-tier parliament, to be known as the Congress of Deputies, which will in turn elect a new head of state with wide-ranging powers.

The reforms were proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at a special Communist Party conference in June.

Mr. Gorbachev, who was elected state president on October 1 in addition to his post as party general secretary, is expected to be the candidate for executive president.

A new electoral law was also adopted unanimously by the deputies.

The Supreme Soviet session was preceded by a meeting of the parliament's Presidium, headed by Mr. Gorbachev, at which last minute changes were made to the proposed constitutional amendments in line with remarks made during the two-day debate, the Soviet TASS news agency reported.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution had attracted public criticism, particularly in the Baltic states, with many fearing some of their republic's rights would be eroded.

The Estonian parliament went so far as to vote itself a right to veto decisions taken in Moscow—a move was then declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Soviet's Presidium.

Reservations were also also voiced over the creation of the new post of executive president with some fearing too much power would be concentrated in the hands of one man.

Mr. Gorbachev gave assurances that important decisions would continue to be taken by the collective leadership.

It was not immediately known how far the last-minute changes affecting the amendments had assuaged such fears.

But Mr. Gorbachev on Wednesday had said that "articles perceived as restricting the powers of federal republics had been modified". [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Final Address

LD0112124488 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet ended its work in Moscow today. [passage omitted] The final address was made by Mikhail Gorbachev. He said the current session was of historical importance for the Soviet people. The laws that had been submitted and approved give the green light to sweeping changes in the political system. There was a big and important political discussion at the session which had not taken place in that hall for a long time. Along with concrete remarks, the deputies clearly expressed their attitude towards the idea of a political reform. The time is right for it and it should be carried out without delay.

Touching on the problem of relations among the different nationalities and the status of the republics, which was raised at the session, Mikhail Gorbachev said everything should be done to make all nationalities and ethnic groups in the country feel at home. They should have every opportunity to develop their national traditions, language, and culture and strengthen cooperation among them in all spheres of life.

Mikhail Gorbachev also stressed that with the approval of the new laws the country enters a new stage of the reform when relations between the center and the union republics should be harmonized. The various nationalities of the Soviet Union, he said, must be convinced that the national union will get action on the problems they face in an atmosphere of friendship, respect, and understanding. Mikhail Gorbachev said in this connection it was essential to get rid of suspicion and promote trust among the union republics and the government in Moscow and among all the people living in some republic or other.

He recalled that next June the Communist Party Central Committee would hold a full-scale meeting of the nationalities relations. The first (?few) documents that had been adopted to carry out a reform, he said, provide for renewing both the structures of the various governing bodies and the formation and activity of the supreme governing body and electoral system.

A new supreme body of government is being instituted. The Congress of People's Representatives, said Mikhail Gorbachev, (?would) solve the more important constitutional questions and the key problems facing the nation. The Soviet national parliament is turning into a permanent body. This will enable the deputies themselves to prepare laws at all stages of this process. The Soviet Union's top posts will be held by the president. [passage omitted]

Writers Urge End to Armenian, Azerbaijani Strife

Writers Union President Appeals

PM2511184688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Vladimir Karpov: 'The Wise Words of Writers Are Now Needed More Than Ever'; USSR Writers Union Board Bureau Appeals to the Writers of Azerbaijan and Armenia"—date, place not given]

[Text] In my view, V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent, for every normal person, even if he is not necessarily a writer or, for instance, a worker in the arts, what is happening at present, namely the clashes between persons of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality, cannot but cause sincere concern and anxiety. There is also a sense of anxiety at the secretariat of the Writers Union Board and among writers in general.

By virtue of the nature of our profession and our position, so to speak, we know about the events at first hand, one may say. Dozens of writers, both Armenian and Azerbaijani, and ordinary working people of both nationalities have visited our union's board in the last few days. Some did so on the spur of the moment, so to speak, while they were passing by, while others made a point of it. And characteristically, all of them, as a rule, are united in the view that the clashes that are occurring, which are often patently extremist in nature, apart from the fact that they are inflaming passions to the utmost over ethnic relations, are, first and foremost, creating a serious obstacle to the restructuring that is in progress in the country. I would go so far as to say that the situation that has arisen is a counterstrike—albeit local—against restructuring. Yes, yes, a counterstrike, although some people may find it suits them to present everything in a different light.

Many of those who have called at the USSR Writers Union board say—and they must be right, because they are eyewitnesses—that the majority of the clashes of various kinds did not happen without provocations on the part of certain individuals. Who are these people? They are those who always find chaos useful, who find it advantageous to spread disorganization among the population in order to secure their own—their own!—selfish goals, to achieve these goals under the convenient, tried, and tested slogan of national differentiation, which basically means egotism. But let me make it clear that I do not want to do what has become fashionable (I cannot immediately think of another word for it) to do today in such cases, namely to blame absolutely everything—indiscriminately!—on individuals with extremist views. After all, there doubtless were omissions of some kind on the part of the local "big leadership." Something somewhere was insufficiently examined, something was insufficiently taken into account.... And the local press, radio, and television also proved not up to the task. Some things were mentioned in passing, others were hushed up entirely. Hence the rumors and the growth of blind tension....

In the situation that has arisen, the USSR Writers Union Board Secretariat deemed it necessary to make an "emergency" appeal, so to speak, to its colleagues in the Azerbaijan and Armenian Writers Unions. Yes, the secretariat's bureau, which includes prominent writers of worldwide fame who grew up in different republics, like Ch. Aytmatov, G. Baklanov, Yu. Bondarev, V. Bykov, O. Gonchar, S. Zalygin, G. Markov....

In these letters, which are basically appeals, we are addressing the writers of the two republics as the heirs and continuers of the cause of their great predecessors, humanists, and educators, the pride of the whole of our multinational country: Khorenatsi and Bakhmanyar, Nizami and Sayat-Nova, Fizuli and Nalbandyan, Tumanyan and Akhundov. Always and everywhere they handed on to people, carefully passing it from hand to hand—like a torch!—good and friendship, mutual understanding and love—that sacred behest of our forebears.

We have appealed to the writers to remind them how much depends on them now. After all, people's minds and hearts have always been open to their voice, the voice of conscience and reason. And their words are needed now more than ever to help people overcome the flare-up of mutual distrust, unreason, and malice.

Yes, dear colleagues and brothers, we all know what grief and often irreparable losses the years of Stalinism and stagnation brought. But now—yes, now!—the time has come to speak and think not only about that. All our peoples are linked by a common destiny, a shared struggle, shared losses, but also achievements, and, first and foremost, a united multinational country.

We must not, cannot discard our common historical destiny and the unity of our ideas and aims. And we call on you not to give way to the dark spontaneous forces of national discord. We call on you to help people to acquire a sense of involvement and mutual understanding. We call on the writers of the two republics—as heirs of their great cultures—not to let their abundant land be soiled by chauvinist discord.

We call for recognition of the need for universal fraternal unity and of the lofty, humanist purpose of our common cause.

Yevtushenko Letter to PRAVDA

PM2811085588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Yevgeniy Yevtushenko "Letter to PRAVDA": "We Must Not Tire of Looking for a Solution"]

[Text] Friends, crying with despair, keep telephoning and reporting ever more details which indicate that the mutual relations between the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples have become so heated that this heat is setting fire to houses and reducing to ashes people's hopes for good-neighborly relations, and even to the most precious thing there is—human lives. Has the blood spilled by the mob in Sumgait failed to provide a horrific, sobering lesson illustrating where blind hatred can lead? A mob cannot be regarded as a people, of course.

I love the Caucasus whose beauty and sufferings have been sung by the best Russian poets, and among all its peoples, I love both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani people. My close friends included the Armenian Paruyr Sevak and the Azeri Samed Burun, who placed the fraternity of peoples above all human values. My heart and the hearts of many other Russians are literally drowning in the blood which is currently being spilled and may yet be spilled in fratricidal strife on Caucasian soil which, it would seem, was created to produce blossoms and sweet smells.

In this unbearably painful hour of innocently spilled blood I address myself to the Azerbaijani intelligentsia with an appeal and supplication that, by force of their words and personal example, an end be put to the hatred, and I address myself to the Armenian intelligentsia with an appeal that its people be prevented from embarking on the path of retribution, which can only lead to further casualties.

I am addressing to the Armenian and the Azerbaijani peoples a proposal that they each appoint 10 of the finest representatives of their intelligentsia whom they can trust completely. Let these representatives sit down at the negotiating table and jointly find a way out of the tragic situation which has taken shape. I am convinced that only a decision that has been adopted jointly can bring salvation to both. These negotiations may be long and agonizing. However, a joint memorandum based on a sensible and principled compromise rather than an unprincipled compromise will nonetheless be better than any decision imposed from outside and implemented with the help of pressure.

And now I beseech you to listen to the voice of reason which comes from the grave, where your great writers lie buried.

I beseech you not to succumb to the instincts of the mob, and to stop the destructive avalanche which is crushing human lives forthwith. Think about your progeny. Do not create a Caucasian Ulster, because if you do, you will not only condemn yourself but also your grandchildren to continuous bloodshed. The drops of blood which fall on the ground are the poisonous seeds from which the trees of death grow, covered with the selfsame drops of blood. Do not be the planters of the trees of death on which blood grows. Hatred will lead to desperation.

Do not give up, do not tire of looking for a solution, and you will find one.

And now, stop in your tracks, because you are heading for your undoing. Differences in faith and nationality must not divide people, for the highest religion is man and the highest nationality is humanity. "Man" as a concept cannot exist without the concept of "humanity."

Armenian, Azerbaijan Republics Remain Tense

Transcaucasus Deaths, Refugees

PM0112112188 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 December 1988 Second Edition carries on page 8 under the headline "Complex Situation" a Baku-datelined report by PRAVDA special correspondents N. Demidov and Z. Kadymbekov and a Yerevan-datelined report by PRAVDA special correspondents A. Sarkisyan and V. Khatuntsev, followed by a commentary from B. Mikhaylov, chief of the Press Bureau of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which takes the form of an interview with an unidentified PRAVDA correspondent. The texts of all three items are as follows.

Baku

Baku—You wouldn't recognize Baku. Work has stopped partially or completely at a number of enterprises. The situation in the vast city is such that troops have had to be brought in and a special situation and curfew introduced. Some 2 weeks ago life here was tranquil and on an even keel; there were no outward signs foretelling today's events. A whole city under canvas has sprung up on the embankment, where you can find representatives of plants, educational establishments, rural rayons, and refugees from Armenia. Trees and the walls of the government building are covered with banners, posters, and slogans.

We are walking through the square at night among the numerous campfires. All around there is heated discussion of the current situation. Some of the participants in the rally have their hair tied with red ribbons. "A symbol of union," we were told. Near the platform we talked with two Baku students, E. Suleymanov and F. Akhundov.

"By what methods are you seeking to gain your demands?"

"The same as in Stepanakert and Yerevan."

"We have also heard other demands on the square here, of a clearly provocative nature. What is your attitude toward this?"

"That does happen. Antirestructuring forces that would like to drive a wedge between the peoples are also joining our movement."

The emergent movement already has its own initiators and organizers. At present, order is being ensured among the demonstrators. However, the further things go the more apprehensions there are. The republic's party, soviet, and economic organs are taking all steps to normalize the situation.

What is the up-to-the-minute situation in the republic? A. Mamedov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs, tells us:

"It is tense; mass rallies are taking place in a number of cities and rayons. At all the rallies people are demanding the fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision of 18 July 1988, since they consider it the only just decision. Emotions are charged to the limit in a number of areas. The more than 55,000 refugees from Armenia who have gathered in the republic since February 1988 are an additional boost to the inflaming of tension."

Yerevan

Yerevan—A curfew is in force in the city, from 2200 hours to 0600 hours. Rallies and demonstrations have been banned and the people of Yerevan are complying with these conditions. According to M. Surkov, chief of the political section of a military combined unit, the situation in Yerevan is calm on the whole. While on the 1st day of the curfew approximately 1,500 people (the overwhelming majority of them were cautioned and sent home), out of a city of 1 million inhabitants, violated it, this figure has dropped considerably over the last few days.

Approximately 22,000 refugees have moved from Azerbaijan to Armenia. The counterflow of Azerbaijanis is considerable. The Armenian Council of Ministers has instructed that refugee commissions be created in all cities and rayons.

It is clear from an Armenian SSR MVD report that for the first time in 9 months incidents entailing grave consequences have been recorded in a number of the republic's rayons. At the city's enterprises every morning begins with heated discussion of the prevailing situation. People are also talking about this in the workshops of the S. Shaumyan Tanning Production Association: Everyone is worried by the events of these days. Nevertheless, the association has not stopped work for a single hour; moreover they are working the three shifts dictated by the manufacturing cycle.

"We have maintained smooth working throughout the recent troubled months," M. Petrosyan, general director of the association, said. "Of course, we are as alarmed as anyone else by the burning problems. But the republic and the country as a whole are losing a great deal from the strikes as it is. The shoemakers' conveyor is dependent on us and that is why we don't want to fall into arrears. The plan for the first 10 months of this year has been fulfilled, but now a snag has emerged: There's a shortage of raw materials."

All in all, according to party gorkom data, in the republic's capital on 29 November 125 enterprises were working fully, 58 partially, and 43 not at all.

There is a clear lack of objective, up-to-the-minute information, particularly from rayons with a mixed population, in both republics. The southerners have large families and extensive kinship ties, hence people's concern about their relatives is understandable. The laconic, general reports on the state of affairs published in the local newspapers do not provide a sufficiently clear idea of the situation.

Commentary by B. Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR MVD Press Bureau

[Mikhaylov] Certainly, the situation is complex. However, interethnic conflicts are never simple and easily resolved.

[PRAVDA] So, the events are based on the same interethnic problems?

[Mikhaylov] If you like, they have now taken center stage as the most acute problems. But we are convinced that the situation is rooted in the antirestructuring and antisocialist activity of a number of corrupt people. Moreover, it is a synthesis of their activity and the activity of ambitious political adventurists. The ethnic aspect of the events is extremely advantageous camouflage for them. I am in no way disregarding the real problems. The fact that they do exist is confirmed by a whole package of party-government documents on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]; but I repeat that a great deal of operational data obtained over the last few months illustrates that corrupt people and antidemocratic forces have tried to establish a grip on restructuring.

[PRAVDA] But the rallies have been massive—both in Baku and in Yerevan—so we obviously cannot talk about a "handful" of demagogues.

[Mikhaylov] Moreover, people went along to the rallies sincerely—the legacy of the time of stagnation and the administrative-bureaucratic style of leadership that stifles the masses' initiative and political creativity are having an impact. Dissatisfaction with corruption and the limitation of social justice are also having their say. However, the entire question is: Where are these paths leading—to real restructuring and an improvement in public life, or to nationalist deadlocks? Let us look at these painfully real figures. Some 10,017 Azerbaijani refugees—that is, 2,689 families—arrived in Kazakhskiy, Tauzskiy, Shamkhorskiy, and other rayons in the space of 24 hours alone. Some 7,317 people—or 2,187 families—arrived in Armenia from Azerbaijan on the morning of 30 November.

Refugees in our times! An incredible, stunning fact. But it is a fact.... Innocent people are suffering because of a group of irresponsible "conductors" who have basely orchestrated the score of the events by applying pressure to the most painful spots and exploiting acute ethnic feelings.

[PRAVDA] We often hear and read about these "conductors." But as yet no names have been given.

[Mikhaylov] I can report that one of the leaders of "Krunk" has been arrested, one M.N. Manucharov, director of the Stepanakert Construction Materials Combine.

[PRAVDA] Why? For his "political activity"?

[Mikhaylov] No. He is accused of embezzlement on a particularly large scale and of accepting bribes.

[PRAVDA] What is your opinion of the situation: Is it possible to really control it?

[Mikhaylov] By and large the subunits that are ensuring order are coping with their tasks. USSR MVD and Army subunits have prevented massive disturbances during the last few days. But, as we know, this has entailed casualties among the personnel.

[PRAVDA] Among the hundreds of telephone calls and telegrams the editorial board has received in response to the alarming situation in the Transcaucasus, there is just one (from Armenia), which expressed condolences to the dead Soviet soldiers' parents and close ones....

[Mikhaylov] Yes, we are losing people. But, I repeat, we have prevented massive excesses. Things are still complex as regards local, unpredictable conflict situations—for instance, attacks on individual cars, clashes in remote streets, and so on. Isolated and uncoordinated tragic incidents have been possible here.

[PRAVDA] How many people have died hitherto?

[Mikhaylov] A total of 28. This figure includes the victims of events not directly linked with the conflict situations. The number of those who died directly in the clashes is considerably smaller. People have been injured.

[PRAVDA] Of what nationality? And in which regions?

[Mikhaylov] Azerbaijani and Armenian nationals and Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians have died, both in Armenia and Azerbaijan. This has occurred as a result of provocative clashes and even shootings. In this respect we must acknowledge PRAVDA's correctness in writing that a number of local militia subunits were unprepared to react promptly to an increasingly complex situation. For instance, although a certain quantity of weapons has been confiscated, they are not uncommon among immature people—in Armenia and in Azerbaijan. Including homemade pistols, sawed-off shotguns, and explosive devices.

[PRAVDA] What are the demands being made by the people involved in the rallies? The capitals are one thing—but what about people out in the sticks?

[Mikhaylov] Azerbaijan is mirroring the slogans we have seen in the Armenian SSR. "Restore Order in NKAO!" "Establish Azerbaijani Autonomy in Armenia!" "Stop Construction at Topkhana!" Unfortunately, we can point out the fact that interethnic movements in Armenia and Azerbaijan have rapidly found leaders and action groups, which in a number of cases enjoy greater prestige than do the representatives of the local authorities, who sometimes hold overtly amorphous positions. An example of this is the 7 November demonstration in Yerevan, when a group of young thugs trampled on the flags of the Soviet republics and the authorities completely failed to react. This also creates the impression of the omnipotence of the informal "leader-patriots." In a number of cases the local press is also rousing passions by propagandizing overtly nationalist concepts and distorting the party-government documents. The nationalist virus has also resulted to a large extent in the destabilization of economic life in Baku and Yerevan. Moreover, reciprocal economic sabotage is manifestly evident here.

[PRAVDA] What is the situation in NKAO in this respect?

[Mikhaylov] Yesterday morning enterprises and establishments were not working, with the exception of those providing the population with essential services. Public transport was partially operational.

I repeat that the situation is complex. Although our subunits are actively monitoring it, the main thing—as we believe—is reason, and restraint, and collective efforts on the part of both republics. This alone stabilizes the situation. It is important now to get through to the hearts and minds of everyone the fact that these events only play into the hands of the enemies of restructuring, the party, and the entire Soviet people; that people's political immaturity is an instrument in the hands of corrupt people and unscrupulous operators from the criminal world—dishonest "politics." My duties have taken me to both Armenia and Azerbaijan. I have a deep respect for both people's wisdom and industry. I believe that representatives of the intelligentsia, social organizations, and elders will finally sit down at the negotiating table.... I am sure that the healthy forces will nonetheless win through, and that the firm will of the ordinary people will prove stronger than the manipulations of the anti-restructuring forces.

[PRAVDA] How do ordinary soldiers serving in the Transcaucasus assess the situation?

[Mikhaylov] They realize perfectly well that they are defending Soviet people's democracy, legality, honor, and dignity.

Baku General Reports to Yerevan

NC0112080988 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Notice from the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] We have received a notice from Lieutenant General Samsonov, military commandant of Yerevan City Special District, which states:

During the 24-hour period of 29-30 November the situation in Yerevan and the Armenian SSR has, due to the measures adopted, been under control. No murders, arson, robberies or beatings have been noted. Conditions remain tense in the Gugarskiy, Kalininskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Masiskiy, and Araratskiy Rayons, where measures are being adopted to improve the situation. Persons of Azerbaijani nationality who express a desire to pass beyond the borders of Armenia are being transported out in an organized manner under the protection of military units.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku city special district

Correspondents Report Situations

LD3011191088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Much attention has been paid recently, comrades, to the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Armenia in particular it continues to be complicated. Our special correspondents in Yerevan, Yuriy Korotkov and Karen Khomaryan, report.

[First correspondent] Yes, the situation is indeed complicated, and as the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau noted at its routine meeting, it is fraught with tragic consequences. In regions bordering Azerbaijan, with a mixed population, clashes have been incited in recent days between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in which firearms have been used. There are casualties on both sides. This causes serious concern, both for the leadership of the republic and for the population as a whole.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has formed agitational-propaganda groups consisting of responsible workers of the Central Committee, eminent scientists, cultural figures, and writers. They have urgently traveled out to the regions where the situation is most complicated: The task is to bring to people the voice of reason, to calm them, and not to allow emotions to overflow.

Meanwhile, more and more people are arriving in Yerevan who have left their native hearths in Baku, Kirovabad, Shamkhor, and other towns and regions of Azerbaijan. They speak, agitatedly and with tears in their eyes, of the situation which has arisen there, and of the situation in which they found themselves.

It is difficult to believe that in our day and in our country there are refugees, and that there are the problems of refugees. But they exist. And this is a reality which one cannot escape.

Over the past week, about 20,000 Armenians have left Azerbaijan. In order to give them refuge, to give them shelter and work in all towns and rayons of the republic, a special commission has been formed on the decision of the Armenian Council of Ministers.

[Second correspondent] The refugees bring a new note of alarm and uncertainty to the tense atmosphere of the city, and it is growing. Although the central streets and squares are being patrolled by reinforced units of the militia and law enforcement forces, tanks and armored personnel carriers are standing in the very center of the city and on the main highways. A strict curfew is in force. We were told in the party gorkom today that 144 enterprises are fully working to schedule, and 53 enterprises are still not working with their full complement. Shops and the leisure sphere are working.

[Announcer] That was the report on the situation in Yerevan. As to the situation in Baku, our correspondent Islam Kuliyev reports on what it is like:

[Kuliyev] There has been no reduction in tension for over a week now on the Baku main square, where tens of thousands of people of various nationalities are coming in every day. And I stress precisely people of various nationalities, in order to express my solidarity and support for the majority of slogans that are being heard from a rostrum on Lenin Square. It is not fortuitous that I said the majority of demands [as heard]. For along with quite lawful and constitutional appeals, there are also sometimes ill-conceived and ill-thought out speeches which lead to an impasse.

It is necessary to note that the situation in Baku, despite the inner tension, is generally calm. And the servicemen who are implementing the special situation in the city are received with understanding by the local population. And yet the life of the city cannot be described as normal. Public transportation has been restored. But there are interruptions in the operation of a number of industrial enterprises, although many understand now that strikes cause direct damage not only to the republican economy but also to the good name of the Azerbaijani people, and they resound in other regions of the country.

For example, there have not been any holdups in the operation of the republic's Novobakinskiy Vladimir Ilich oil refinery for even 1 day. This is what Samir Guseynov, the refinery's engineer, told me:

[Begin recording] [Guseynov] There is enough work for the engineering and technical staff today. But still the main burden has fallen on the working class of our refinery, including young people.

[Kuliyev] Why?

[Guseynov] For the second week now our entire republic has seen days of unrest. On our capital's central square the noise of the crowd holding a rally can still be heard. The operation of an entire range of enterprises has stopped. However, there are still enterprises at which the workers have not left their work places, though absolutely all of them have been to rallies. [end recording]

[Announcer] Here is some more material on this subject. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko is reporting from Kirovobad:

[Omelchenko] Rallies were held until 26 November in the city of Kirovobad. And by today the situation has been somewhat stabilized. Can one say this, Tuman Zakharovich [not further identified]?

[Zakharovich] Of course, the situation is now becoming completely normal in the city. Of course, there is still some tension in the other part, where the Armenian population lives. Our headquarters is now working there, headed by the Gorkom second secretary. After this clash [date and place not specified] we have placed the military servicemen and those injured by the population in the hospitals. The first medical help has been organized and given to them there. Now, all enterprises are operating normally in the city. I am saying this again. Rallies have been completely stopped. And 92 apartments have been restored. We are trying to get the people who have left these apartments to come back to their homes.

However, we have a serious problem of refugees from the Armenian republic.

[Omelchenko] How many refugees are there now?

[Guseyenko] By today there are 870 refugees. This is about 200 families. The party Gorkom and Gorispolkom are now engaged in placing the refugees in the city of Kirovobad. The mass information media is now operating well in our city. The newspapers (KIROVOBAD I

KOMMUNISTY) and KIROVOBADSKIY RABOCHIY are coming out regularly. We also wish to launch a newspaper in the Armenian language, BAM BARAKAN CHARAVABAD.

In this newspaper our activists, members of the party Gorkom, members of the party raykom, and our old veterans are writing there. They are also addressing the population on the radio. They are explaining the situation, trying to calm people down.

Curfews Continue in Capitals

LD0112083788 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] The situation in the Transcaucasian republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan remains tense as a result of interethnic conflicts. The capitals of the republics, Yerevan and Baku, are still under a curfew and internal force units are patrolling the streets.

A spokesman of the Soviet Interior Ministry, Mikhaylov, says that ethnic problems have come to the fore as most acute. According to him, anti-restructuring, anti-socialist activity by a number of corrupt elements is underlying the present situation. The Army is taking measures to prevent any mass disorders, but there have been isolated tragic incidents.

'Dialogue' With Baku Advocated

PM3011111388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 8

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko dispatch under general heading "Yesterday, 29 November": "Yerevan"]

[Text] Most enterprises in the Armenian capital are still working at less than 50-percent capacity. We visited the Yerevan tire plant.

"Yesterday we manufactured only 2,000 covers," plant director A. Sukiasyan told us. "That's approximately one-third of the daily norm. How many will we produce today? We have no idea. Even though around 90 percent of workers have reported for work...."

The republican newspaper KOMMUNIST today published an Armenian MVD report on the situation in Yerevan and Armenia's rayons. It says in particular that the total number of breaches of the law has declined since the introduction of troops to the republic capital. Nevertheless, it mentions quite a few instances of curfew offenses.

Towards the evening we received the latest data: Some 1,799 persons without passes have been detained in the city over the past 4 nights. True enough, there were around 500 the first night and only 200 on the last. The situation has worsened in some of Armenia's rayons. People everywhere are primarily interested in the situation in Azerbaijan.

"I believe," we were told by V. Akopyan, an electrical welder and deputy chairman of the tire plant trade union committee, "that a group of senior officials from Baku could be sitting here in Yerevan now, conducting a live conversation with us on television, answering questions, providing information. And let our people go to Baku and do the same there."

Indeed, the worker's suggestion makes sense. A method must be found not just to make people better informed about their neighbors' situation, but probably the most important point is to begin a dialogue.

Unfortunately, various rumors are still almost the sole source of information—the most incredible rumors, but many people believe them. For example, people tried to convince us that Azerbaijan has all but officially decided to expel all Armenians from the republic, that there have been clashes with casualties running into the hundreds, and other similarly terrifying reports. (We publish below a report by our Baku correspondents which, we hope, will cast some light on these questions—editorial office) In any event one thing is certain: The lack of accurate and prompt information on the situation in the two republics is seriously complicating the situation.

One more encounter at the plant—this is what component assembler K. Aliyeva, who is an Azerbaijani, told us:

"I have lived in Yerevan for 14 years. I have never once encountered national hatred. Of course, everyone knows me at work and in the hostel—I'm one of them. But even in these difficult days I can walk anywhere in Yerevan without any fear at all...."

'Rumor War' Exacerbates Problems

PM3011112588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 8

[Special correspondents R. Lynev and A. Stepovoy dispatch under general heading "Yesterday, 29 November": "Baku"]

[Text] The situation in the city remains tense. A report by the military commandant of the special region says that three workers from the Baku refrigerator plant were arrested for distributing leaflets with an anti-Soviet and nationalistic content. Criminal proceedings for possession of drugs have been instituted against Masallinskiy Rayon resident G. Faradzhev, who was arrested on Lenin Square.

Responding to the military commandant's call, many residents are voluntarily handing in their weapons. Some 95 sporting guns and 12 knives were handed in during the day in Kirovskiy Rayon.

Military patrols detain large numbers of citizens during curfew hours, including vehicle drivers in an unsober state. As a result of this, the sale of alcoholic beverages has been banned in the city's stores and also in restaurants, cafes, and bars.

Okrug commandants often receive applications from residents of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality asking for assistance in bringing their relatives from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR or to leave Baku for Armenia or other regions. Others want to find out what has happened to their relatives in different areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Orders have been issued to military commandants of okrugs, the airport, and railroad stations to give assistance and cooperation to all citizens. The conditions in which Azerbaijan's internal affairs organs and subunits operate are linked with the exacerbation of operational conditions in several of the republic's cities and rayons. There have been instances of hooligan elements attacking the premises of the Shekinskiy and Fizulinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Departments and the Kirovabad City Internal Affairs Administration. Bodily harm has been caused as a result of the clashes. At present there are special republic MVD teams working in the internal affairs administrations in Kirovabad, Sheki, and elsewhere. Some 734 violators of public order were detained in Baku over the last 10 days. There have also been recorded cases of confusion, inefficiency, and indiscipline by militia staffers.

Sheykh-ul-Islam Allashakur Pasha-zade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in the Transcaucasus, has interrupted a visit to India and returned to Baku. Speaking on republic television and in a press article, he said that the holy faith calls for the spread and consolidation of peace, for firmness, fairness, and respect for rights, and for the eradication of treachery and perfidy in all actions. He then called for rigorous observance of the USSR Constitution, and he harshly condemned those whose subversive activity artificially creates enmity between peoples.

AZERINFORM has reported that a plenum of the Kirovabad party gorkom has been held at which an organizational question was examined. R.A. Bagirli was relieved of the duties of first secretary and member of the party gorkom bureau in connection with a transfer to other work. S.F. Mamedov, hitherto chairman of the Kirovabad Gorispolkom, was elected first secretary of the Kirovabad party gorkom.

A large proportion of students and school pupils returned to their studies today, and a number of industrial enterprises resumed work. According to preliminary data, losses incurred by the republic's industrial enterprises as a result of strikes already amount to almost R70 million.

We would like to make special mention of the rumors which continue to play a highly dangerous role in the prevailing situation. "Have you heard that all Azerbaijanis in Armenia have been officially ordered to leave the republic within days?" many of our excited interlocutors asked us. The stupidity of such "information" is so obvious that it would appear to need neither verification nor rebuttal. But people are in such a state of excitement that they are prepared to believe all sorts of fairytales. We have learned about persistently circulating rumors in Yerevan that Azerbaijan television allegedly carries open appeals to chase the Armenians out. We declare: This is a lie! Who is interested in constantly exacerbating this "rumor war" in which there are and there can be no victors? Emotions and rumors produce an unwillingness to listen to one another and seriously hinder the normalization of the situation.

'Complex, Tense' Situation Continues in Baku

Television Reports Improvements

LD3011221388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondent V. Batalov in Baku]

[Text] The stormy Caspian recalls the heated passions and emotions in Baku. Natural forces are not always under man's control. In the last few days emotions have been giving way gradually to good sense and self-control. Many enterprises in the capital of Azerbaijan have gotten into the rhythm of work. They have followed the example of the oil workers, who did not stop work for a single minute during the alarming days in Baku. What can I say? It will not be easy to make up the losses, for, according to preliminary calculations, they amounted to $70 million. Production supplies to many regions of the country collapsed. Today workshops, enterprises, and construction sites have come back to life, the transport system has started operating more on time, and the auditoriums of the university and institutes have filled up with students. [video shows oil derricks at sea and oilmen at work; interior shots of factories, showing work in progress]

In order to calm the heated passions and emotions which are still being exhibited in the main square of ancient Baku, party bodies, public organizations and the local press have gotten involved in active work among the citizens. From the tribune at meetings, war and labor veterans talk of their anxiety about the exacerbation of the situation in the republic, and call on people to show civil and political maturity. These thoughts are echoed in statements by scientists, writers, poets, and those to whom the interests of their people are dear. [video shows correspondent facing camera, with a crowd of people milling about on an open area behind him; an open-air meeting in progress, being addressed by a man from a balcony; newspaper articles, including the headline "Peace and Calm for our Common Home" by someone called Tair Salakhov; and another headline, from the BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, which reads "The Fate of Restructuring is in our Hands"]

The situation in Baku remains complex and tense. The city has already been in a special situation for several days and a curfew has been introduced. Internal forces are ensuring public order and control on the roads. The military commandant's staff are averting possible incidents connected with law breaking. A troubled autumn has come now to Baku, the city of oilmen, machine builders, and textile workers, but we hope that self-control, sobriety, and good sense will prevail during these difficult days. [video shows two armored personnel carriers standing beside a main road; a soldier checking a motorist's papers, and two other soldiers look on; two other soldiers and a militiaman in conversation beside an armored personnel carrier; general street scenes]

People Detained for Violations

LD3011164388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Communique issued by Colonel General Tyagunov, Baku City Special District military commandant]

[Text] Internal Affairs bodies, together with detachments of the Baku City Special District, are taking measures against those violating the 23 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on urgent measures for establishing law and order in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR. Under the administrative law, people kindling ethnic hostility, provoking the public to violate law and order, instigating antisocial actions, or actively hindering citizens or officials from fulfilling their legal rights and duties can be detained for up to 30 days.

Guseynov Fizuli Mamed ogly ve Miskinov and Guseyn ogly Ali, drivers of refrigerator truck No A DZH L 1229 belonging to the Azerbaijan SSR Agro-Industrial Committee specialized enterprise in Lankoran, were detained for 30 days under the administrative law. A large quantity of various foodstuffs was discovered in their vehicle. They had no documentation for the foodstuffs, which were intended for participants to continue violating the rules for the special district. The foodstuffs had been taken from the Semaskho hospital.

Aydyn Khanguseyn ogly Kerimov, a worker at the Cultural and Public Amenities Metal Works of the Azerbaijan SSR Local Industry Ministry, agitated against turning up at work and created obstacles at the Works' entrance to prevent workers from starting work. He was detained for 30 days. Another three workers at this works were detained for 30 days each under the administrative law. They had also violated the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

Azer Mekhti ogly Zeynalov, a student at the faculty of metallurgy at the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute, was also detained for 30 days, as was Ashraf Mamed ogly Azizov, a worker at the Srebrovsk Oil and Gas Extracting Board. Azizov had violated public law and order while drunk and had insulted servicemen.

Under the administrative law, 20 people were detained for violating the 23 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, and 638 people were detained for violating the curfew.

Anonymous Tips Warned Against

LD3011164288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Communique issued by Colonel General Tyagunov, Baku City Special District military commandant]

[Text] Offices of precinct commandants have recently been receiving many calls about violations of public law and order and about hooligan action against city citizens. After going to the places mentioned and checking out the calls, it appears that many calls are of a provocative nature. I have issued an order to organize a service for revealing provocateurs and hooligans. Provocateurs and hooligans will be brought to justice. At the same time, I am informing the public that no notice will be taken of anonymous information or telephone calls.

Arrests, Rumors Continue

PM0112101888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 8

[Special correspondents R. Lynev, A. Stepovoy report from Baku under the general heading "Yesterday, 30 November"]

[Text] Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku special district, has been receiving complaints about disruption to the work of communications enterprises, and unjustified breakdowns in the provision of all forms of mail and telegraphic services to citizens. With a view to maintaining uninterrupted functioning of communications enterprises and ensuring the prompt acceptance, processing, and delivery of all forms of mail dispatches, as well as organizing the smooth running of telephone and telegraph communications networks in the city, military commandant's offices have been set up at the intercity telephone station, the central and railroad post offices, the central telegraph, and the urban telephone network. Military commandant's offices have also been set up at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministries of Trade and Finance.

Last night the situation in the city and suburbs was calm on the whole. The military commandant's report notes that certain citizens are continuing to violate the curfew that has been set.

Internal affairs organs, in collaboration with troop subunits of the Baku special district, are taking steps with regard to violators of public order. Colonel General M. Tyagunov announced that persons whose actions kindle national discord, or who provoke violations of public order, or who coerce others into antisocial actions, and also those who actively hinder citizens and officials in the exercise of their lawful rights and duties, may be subject to administrative detention for a period of up to 30 days. F. Guseynov and A. Muslimov, drivers of a refrigerated truck belonging to the Lenkoran specialized enterprise of the Azerbaijan SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, have been confined to administrative detention, each for 30 days. A large quantity of various food products were discovered in their truck, without documentation, destined for the participants in an unauthorized rally in Baku. The food products were confiscated and handed over to the Semashko Hospital.

A. Kerimov, a worker at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Local Industry's "Metallokultbyt" plant, was detained for 30 days for agitation at the gates of the plant, for failing to report for work, and for hindering working people from reporting for work. In the last 24 hours a total of 20 people have been arrested under administrative detention, and 638 for breaking the curfew.

AZERINFORM reports from Sheki: Studies have resumed in all the schools. There is no longer a great crowd of people in the central streets in front of the party gorkom building. Industrial enterprises, construction organizations, stores, and enterprises in the service sphere are working. But canteens and restaurants are closed. Normal relations have been established between the local population and the troops. War veterans, internationalist servicemen, and activists are taking part in patrolling and in giving assistance to Armenians who have decided to leave the city. In the city soviet, the chairmen of housing committees, deputies, and members of standing commissions are helping to fulfill an operational plan for measures to prevent violations of public order.

Almost every day new rumors spring up about the Topkhana forest. Some people are energetically spreading a report that construction work is continuing in Topkhana. Major General A. Kolotiytsev, commandant of the Stepanakert City special district, asserts: This is disinformation. Together with CPSU Central Committee representative A. Sidorov, he visited the site of the former construction work, and was able to verify for himself: The last defective excavator has been towed away from the construction site. Construction stopped on 21 November and the area is cordoned off by troops.

Yesterday, well-known scientific personalities from the republic appeared on local television. Their assessments of the prevailing situation were sober, and the arguments they presented to the inhabitants of Baku and the whole of Azerbaijan were convincing. The republic's dignity must be asserted not through spontaneous rallies and strikes, they said, but first and foremost through deeds and worthy labor. You cannot strengthen the people's unity while simultaneously undermining unity with the other peoples of the USSR. The same position is shared by prominent figures in the republic's cultural life who spoke out in the newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY.

It is encouraging that the voice of the republic's intelligentsia is today gaining strength and acquiring a confident tone. People wait for this voice and heed it. And in this difficult time who, if not representatives of the two peoples' intelligentsia, could and should set about building bridges of mutual tolerance, mutual understanding, and constructive dialogue?

A plenum of Nakhichevan party obkom was held, to examine an organizational question. N.E. Mustafayev was relieved of his duties as first secretary and bureau member of the party obkom. G.I. Isayev, formerly chairman of Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, was elected first secretary and bureau member of Nakhichevan party obkom.

While this item was being transmitted to the editorial office, we received the latest report from the military commandant. It says: Military commandant's offices and sectors are receiving many reports of violations of public order and acts of hooliganism against citizens of the city. On-the-spot checks and investigations show that many of these reports are provocations. Instructions have been issued to organize a service for unmasking provocateurs and hooligans, against whom proceedings will be taken. At the same time it is announced that anonymous complaints and calls from the localities will not be accepted. Many enterprises are working today. But 11 plants are at a standstill, and the rallies in the square continue.

Construction Rumors Refuted

LD3011164188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Communique issued by Colonel General Tyagunov, Baku City Special District military commandant]

[Text] Comrades, citizens of Baku!

Rumors were spread in the city that construction work is continuing in Topkhana. This lie is mere slander. At 1530 yesterday I personally talked to Major General (?Kolotitsyn), commandant of the Stepanakert City Special District. He and Sidorov, representative of the CPSU Central Committee, were at the construction site and reported that at 1500 yesterday the last suction excavator was removed from the construction site. The construction work was stopped 21 November, and the rayon was surrounded by troops. Troops are still continuing their service there.

Situations in NKAO, Kirovabad Also Unsettled

KOMMUNIST Reports on NKAO

NC2611163588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0700 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Report on article published in KOMMUNIST by Doctor of Economic Sciences Abdul-Gaffar Zargarov on 25 November, entitled: "Ill Intentions and Foreign Voices"]

[Excerpts] The incidents in and around Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] can be described as dark. Worsening severely, the disturbances are rising like the waves of a stormy sea. They are slowly becoming [words indistinct]. Due to the incidents, the political situation is not peaceful. The situation changes frequently, and it is as if lightning will strike and turn the disturbances into a storm which cannot be halted.

These are not empty thoughts. The [word indistinct] of the people has been disturbed after a period of peace. In an effort to kindle the flame of extremism, the Armenian SSR's media organs have been fanning agitation every day. The decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July 1988 clearly confirmed that the Azerbaijan SSR's territorial integrity cannot be disturbed. It supported keeping the NKAO within the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan. However, the leaders and the highest official departments in the Armenian SSR have been ignoring this decision.

The idea that injustices were permitted in the settlement of the Artsakh problem is being seriously injected into the minds of the Armenian people, both young and old alike. This is the main cause of tension between the two neighboring republics, and it has continued until now and been aggravated through agitations.

The frequent statements saying that the decisions adopted by the organs of the alliance in connection with the NKAO are being effected in a defective manner are actually misleading. Their main objective is to conceal the effort being made to wrest the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR. The Armenian people are called upon to see to it that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision is amended in favor of the Armenian SSR. In view of this, the anticonstitutional incidents that have been instigated in Stepanakert and throughout the Armenian SSR are aimed at putting pressure on the supreme party and state organs in the Soviet Union and at reaching the desired objective.

No one has the right to ignore any matter which has been resolved in accordance with the Constitution for the purpose of transferring the lands of one republic to another or in order to describe the situation as a national tragedy or an act of genocide.

All this is [words indistinct] and cannot be permitted when we are trying to establish a lawful socialist state. The main aspect of such a state is the constant maintenance of the supremacy of the law. This was clearly outlined in the address Mikhail Gorbachev delivered at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. No state organ, official, collective, party organization, social organization, or individual is exempt from the responsibility of abiding by the law.

In view of this, how can the Armenian SSR's claims for land and the wide-ranging measures that have been put into effect in that direction be explained other than they are a deliberate attempt against our country's Constitution?

Illegal intentions are being realized through lawless methods. A glance at many of the articles published by the press in Stepanakert and by the newspapers in the Armenian SSR, as well as at the materials published by other mass media organs, will be enough to (?confirm this). We have seen frequent calls in the mass media organs referred to which ask for objective and accurate reporting. We have even heard [words indistinct] that central newspapers and journals and the mass media in Azerbaijan lack objective and accurate reporting. Leaving the articles and programs of the central mass media organs aside, we would like to discuss our republic's media organs. There is no reason to urge the Azerbaijan SSR's mass media and propaganda organs to deliberately assess the incidents in and around the NKAO in an instigatory manner.

Our dissatisfaction is linked to something else. It stems from the dearth of information—except for the materials made available by TASS—for a long time on this extremely important matter that has become the most topical issue during the past few months, from the unsatisfactory disclosure of the facts, and from the deliberate concealment of the facts in a number of cases for the sake of so-called courtesy.

Courtesy must always be mutual and based on accuracy. Silence is not always [word indistinct]. Remaining silent at the present time will allow various wrong ideas to spread. It will create an opportunity for those individuals who engage in politics and who have become unrestrained to exploit the situation. Furthermore, it will leave their instigatory activities unanswered.

I am following with particular interest the current publications in the Soviet press, and specifically the Armenian press, as well as the foreign mass media, on the incidents in and around the NKAO. While on the one hand facts and incidents are objectively reported and the main causes are [words indistinct], on the other the nature of the incidents is seriously falsified and malicious materials are used, slanders and distortions are made, unfounded fabrications and rumors are generated, and [word indistinct] facts are dealt with silently. [passage omitted]

KOMMUNIST, published in the Russian language in Yerevan, carried a report on 21 October 1988 which stated that preparations were being made for the production of a new type of wine from the raw materials of the Armenian SSR and the NKAO. It will be called Artsakh. Furthermore, cigarettes will be produced under the same name from tobacco grown in the NKAO. The cigarette boxes will carry the picture of the statue known as We and Our Mountains. Obviously, they have been clearly disclosing their intentions without [words indistinct].

If we were to say that the NKAO party organization and the leading officials of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies have played an immeasurably damaging role in the incidents, I believe we would be explaining the uneasiness felt by many of our republic's citizens. It seems that neither the party program and rules and regulations, nor the USSR Constitution and the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution exist for the NKAO's leading officials. Their activities are linked as a whole with the idea of separating the NKAO from Azerbaijan, regardless of what method is used to achieve this, including recourse to the use of force.

They are fully responsible for creating tension; disrupting stability; organizing long-term mass (?activities), acts of sabotage, and baseless meetings and demonstrations; and spreading calumnies and slanders against the people of Azerbaijan. The strangest thing is that such people are not being purged as required. How long will they remain unpunished? What should be done with the NKAO deputies in the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet? They have been ostentatiously avoiding the fulfillment of their tasks, which are derived from the Constitution. They do not wish to participate in the Supreme Soviet's meetings and convocations. Where does this unrestrained freedom and absence of punishment come from?

The patience of the people is not inexhaustible. I believe that the time to clearly disclose everything and assess from principled party positions the activities of individuals, who, although carrying the party ticket, disregard the fact that they have to pursue the party line, is long overdue.

The people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's have been disturbed by another problem created by the state of resistance. (?The use) of the word refugees, which is not a pleasant word to hear, [words indistinct]. This word is completely incompatible with the concepts of Soviet sovereignty, jurisprudence, and internationalism. However, the burned houses; the forced expulsion of people; the illegal discharge of individuals from their jobs; the move made to prevent Azerbaijani students in the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute from attending classes; other acts of coercion, including thousands of important and minor incidents; and the complex problem, which has been [words indistinct], should be kept in mind. All this is the outcome of the attempts made to resolve the NKAO problem in a so-called just way. [passage omitted]

The problem must be resolved on the basis of mutual agreement in as short a time as possible. However, this cannot be achieved through the ways and methods suggested by a number of irresponsible individuals. It is time to wake up and return to the homeland.

Regardless of its being officially disbanded, the NKAO Committee continues to act like a devil on matters concerning the NKAO problem. It cooperates with various antireconstruction forces in the country and with nationalist organizations abroad. In effect, it is the managing organ of the opposition.

While being interviewed by THE TIMES newspaper, NKAO Committee leader Levon Petrosyan said that, even if the Armenian demand for the NKAO's transfer to the Armenian SSR is realized, the resistance movement should continue. He said: Even if we achieve our objective, the movement will continue its work in the future as an expression of the people's will. He is obviously working to realize long-range and infamous objectives.

The NKAO Committee's activities are multifaceted. However, one can observe an illogical direction and [word indistinct] in all its activities.

According to a report by the Voice of America [VOA] Armenian editorial office on 13 September 1988, the NKAO Committee has drawn up a completely new and original plan for the settlement of the problem if the claims put forward in connection with the NKAO are resolutely rejected. In addition, it regards this plan as a completely serious possibility. According to the editorial office's suggestions, the NKAO Armenians should be able to move out of the USSR framework. They should then ask to rejoin the Soviet Union, this time within the framework of the Armenian SSR. If a hopeless situation is created and the realization of this plan is impossible, then recourse can be made to other reserve plans, the nature of which are more dishonest and adventurous.

According to the USSR Constitution, the NKAO does not have the right to determine its own future. However, the Armenian SSR does have this right. In view of this, the radio suggested that the Armenian SSR should apply to be included within the NKAO's jurisdiction. It should then move to establish the new Artsakh Armenian Republic with Stepanakert as its capital. The editors believe that the whole of Armenia, including Yerevan, must be a subordinate of Artsakh.

These suggestions can only be made by individuals who are utterly confused or who have lost their sense of reality. [passage omitted]

The NKAO Committee must not be given the opportunity to impose its will on the people. The Armenian people have clearly outlined their stand against this extremist organization. The provocative activities of the NKAO Committee, which conflict with the law, must be resolutely halted.

The Armenian SSR's mass media organs are completely silent on two indispensable matters. It is as if these matters do not exist. They are related to the role of the Armenian Church in the NKAO dispute and the involvement of Armenians who live abroad in the disagreement. The existing facts indicate that these factors have been very ifluential, both before and after the incidents occurred. [passage omitted]

VOA's Armenian editorial office admitted that the Armenian Church began to lead the Armenian people's movement and push forward the demand for the NKAO's transfer to the Armenian SSR under the pretext of openness. Armenian clergymen said that if Mikhail Gorbachev fails to resolve this problem in favor of the Armenians, then they will resort to more resolute measures. [passage omitted]

VOA's Armenian editorial office stated on 1 September 1988 that the leaders of the Armenian Church sent a letter to the Armenians in Argentina. It said: We would like to reply to your question by saying that all the Armenian people are in a state of mourning. They have been deprived of hope. However, God is great, and sooner or later truth wil prevail.

Yet, THE NEW YORK TIMES said that the Armenian Church has organized all the meetings that have been held in the United States in support of the demand for the NKAO's transfer to the Armenian SSR. Thanks to financial aid from Armenians living abroad, the material situation of the Armenian Church is fine, and it maintains wide-ranging international relations with various religious organizations. [passage omitted]

According to the political adventurer (?Arutyunyan), who has been expelled from the Soviet Union and who has made a reputation for himself by his ill intentions, a special center will be established in Los Angeles for the liberation of the Armenian SSR. He said that the government organs in the Armenian SSR have pertinent tasks to perform in order to influence the decisions that have been adopted.

The outcome of the falsification of the elections recently held for the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies in Yerevan Okrug No 111 and Abovyan Okrug No 159 has proven that a number of individuals are trying to realize these tasks. The aktivs of the disbanded NKAO Committee were dishonestly elected as deputies.

Meanwhile, the organization set up in Los Angeles to support the NKAO is active as well. For example, the funds acquired from the concert organized by that organization on 25 September are to be channeled to the people of the NKAO. According to Armenian (?provocateurs) in foreign countries, the meetings, [word indistinct], and activities resorted to by the organizers of the movement for the NKAO's unification with the Armenian SSR are only a small part of the trend which [word indistinct] national rights and interests. There is no need to refrain from anything to safeguard these rights and interests. It is even possible to falsify the interests of other nationalities and the state, and inflict moral, material, and political damage on the people. In view of this, the forceful pressure on the state organs must be maintained. This will supposedly force Moscow to believe that it is better to make concessions rather than be disgraced as an autocratic state in the world.

Others have even stronger views. They openly demand that the Armenian SSR should move out of the Soviet Union. VOA's Armenian editorial office said on 8 July 1988 that a literary evening was organized in Boston dedicated to Ruben Pogosyan's book entitled "The Dispute Between Turks and Armenians." An unknown lawyer, who comes from the Sariverdiyan family, argued in his speech that the Armenians have every right to establish a united and independent Armenian state.

Demands are being made at Armenian meetings in foreign countries that the Armenian SSR should open consulates in major Western countries and establish national military units to serve only that republic. Also pointed out is the necessity of reinstating the flag of independent Armenia, which was first established in 1918. The date of the new republic should be retroactive.

The high-ranking Armenian social and political figures are successfully using everything, even the smallest opportunities, to secure active participation from U.S. officials, senators, and congressmen, as well as other officials, in the just settlement of the NKAO problem, and to urge them to contribute to the effort made in that regard. Through them they are trying to exert pressure on the Soviet Union's party, state, and government organs.

It is common knowledge that Armenian lobbyists tried to employ this effort in the U.S. presidential elections for the sake of transferring the NKAO to the Armenian SSR. They believed that the nationality of the presidential candidates did not matter at all. Supporting each and every one of the candidates was possible, provided they would be significantly faithful to safeguarding the interests of the American Armenians and give priority to their problems at the highest level.

According to VOA reports, the Armenians actively participated in the electioneering campaigns of George Bush and Michael Dukakis. It is enough to mention that Dukakis' chief adviser on national affairs was (?Murad Topolyan), an Armenian. [passage omitted]

You may arrive at the conclusion after studying the developments that, as a rule, the nationalists have been most active during new turning points in our history. Let us remember, however, that reactionary forces created discord between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis in order to suppress the revolutionary vigor in the two rayons where they lived in 1918 and 1920. Obviously, the roots of the present idea of unification stem from the same political basis. They hope that the incidents in and around the NKAO will spread like a chain reaction to the other regions of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] Speaking during the convocation of the USSR Spreme Soviet Presidium, Mikhail Gorbachev said that lofty interests must be regarded as a guide for mutual concessions aimed at removing the serious results of the incidents in and around the NKAO. Mutual concessions can be made in the active talks that will be held between the sides in the dispute, which will give them an opportunity to think about each other's interests, to bring the realities into the light, and to arrive at a mature decision.

Azerbaijan's party organization is presently working very hard to rectify the situation. It maintains systematic contacts with the leaders of the Armenian SSR with a view to making a joint effort to resolve the present problems. The following is the main idea at the present time: We must coexist on this land and share [word indistinct]. We must look directly into each other's face. Breaking the ties that unite our people cannot be allowed.

We are convinced that wisdom will prevail in the end and that peace, security, good-neighborly relations, and mutual trust will be established in our eternal lands.

Yerevan Comments on NKAO

LD2811164988 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary: "How the Decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers for the Socioeconomic Development of Nagorno-Karabakh Are Being Implemented"]

[Text] The situation has once again deteriorated in Stepanakert and other parts of Nagorno-Karabakh. With the sanction of those who administer Azerbaijan, provocations are being incited against the local Armenian population. Construction has also started in Azerbaijani localities of buildings for the so-called Azeris who have fled Armenia. Certain supervisory bodies in Azerbaijan continue, following the 18 July 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to cause damage to the interests of the autonomous oblast with impunity. The preconditions are being created for deepening the (?rift) between the two peoples. The incidents set off by the population of the Azeri-populated Khodzhalu village in Askeran Rayon, the total expulsion of Armenians from Shusha town, the mass settlement of Azeris in Nagorno-Karabakh with the intention of changing the ethnic structure and population statistics in the oblast, and the ceaseless, unauthorized construction going on in the Shusha, Askeran, and Martuni Rayons constitute links in a historic chain of driving out the entire Armenian population from the Nakitchevan ASSR, the tragic examples of the massacre of the Armenian population in Sumgait, and many other instances. They all add up to one fact: The Armenian autonomous unit within the composition of Azerbaijan is condemned to constant repression.

The working people and leadership of the oblast have expressed their determination to consistently proceed with the implementation of the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the oblast's population formulated in the materials of the oblast soviet sessions. These materials relate to the reunification of the oblast with the Armenian Republic. This resolve is based on the highest principle of the national and state structure of the country, the right of nations to self-determination, and accords with general democratic jurisprudence and the Soviet Union's international obligations.

The decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers for accelerating the oblast's socioeconomic development are being inadequately implemented. With a view to guaranteeing the fulfillment of all socioeocnomic measures envisaged by the decision in question, the oblast soviet has submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers a request that all the means, funds, material, and technical resources earmarked for the implementation of the decision be placed at the disposal of the oblast, designating the executive committee of the oblast committee as the sole contracting agent in the territory of the oblast.

The leadership of the Azerbaijani Government, taking advantage of the existence of the special situation and curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh and in gross violation of the constitutional rights of the autonomous oblast, has launched illegally and without the allocation of the necessary land, construction work on a number of departments of industrial enterprises and socioeconomic projects in Khodzhalu, Malibeyli, and a number of other Azeri-populated villages in Martuni Rayon. None of these construction projects have planning and costing documentation. Such acts have further worsened the situation in the autonomous oblast.

The oblast procurator has also participated in this deterioration of the situation. The view here is that he should resign his post. The recently held session of the oblast soviet has applied to the chief procurator of the USSR, requesting that he use his full authority to preempt the contralegal [hagairavakan] activities by the republican authorities and to defend the constitutional rights of the oblast.

The session of the oblast soviet has also passed a special resolution concerning the behavior of the mass media in explaining the Karabakh issue. The resolution notes in particular that the oblast population is unhappy about the mass media's tendentious reporting of the Karabakh events. The press and television not only have not helped the two peoples to find a way out of the difficult situation that has been created, but have worsened the crisis by their silence, by half-baked statements, partisanship, tendentiousness, and occasionally by direct untruths. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have been asked to provide an opportunity to the party and soviet leaders and the public of the oblast to explain in the press and on radio and television what has been happening and to present and elaborate their own case in an all-union public forum.

Kirovabad Curfew Patrol Described

PM3011112988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 First Edition p 6

["In Kirovabad's Night Streets" report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga under general heading "We Have One Aim: To Strengthen Unity"]

[Text] The curfew was a matter of minutes away.

"...And finally," Colonel V. Sorokin said as he concluded his briefing for the personnel of a mobile patrol, "be prepared for anything unexpected. Yesterday a militiaman was injured by a shot from a signal pistol...."

We made our way to the vehicles standing nearby and took our seats.

The city streets are deserted at nighttime. Motor traffic is severely restricted, and a special pass is needed. There were no passers-by. Suddenly we noticed an excited group of people outside an apartment block in Shaumyan Street. There were children among the adults. Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Kazimirchuk, the patrol's senior officer, approached the group with some soldiers and asked the people to disperse to their apartments. A short man named R. Mamedov—prior to this he had been setting the tone of the noisy discussion—anxiously explained that the block might blow up, because the tenant in one of the apartments had opened the gas tap and then left...

Guards Junior Sergeant S. Prisyazhnyuk went into the entrance and up to the first floor.

"There is no smell of gas," he reported upon returning. The block residents silently went back to their apartments. Only Mamedov was in no hurry.

"They are robbing us," he said in trying to justify his behavior, referring to another nationality.

"But not a single apartment has been burgled either in this block or in the whole street," the patrol senior officer said.

"Not here," the interlocutor grudgingly agreed, "but there...."

He made a vague wave of his hand.

We returned to our route.

"Rumors arise literally out of nothing," said Guards Jr Sgt Prisyazhnyuk in sharing his impressions. "They are like detonators. If someone believes something absurd, he frets.... A woman came up to me in the Armenian district yesterday and asked: Who are you for—us or them? You can go a long way with such a division into 'us' and 'them.'"

I listened to the guards junior sergeant and recalled the statements of speakers in Yerevan's Theater Square. Every speech contained the words "they must," "they are obliged," "they should." Both in Baku and here in Kirovabad amateur oracles also emphasize "they." Why is it that the age-long wisdom of the peoples does not make its way onto the rostrums? Why is that words about personal duty and about the personal responsibility of those who abandon their workbench to hurry to a rally—their duty to the entire Soviet people and to our unified state—are rarely heard? These words are so essential today, just as they are, incidentally, at all times. Why is the upper hand being gained by those who preach "troglodytic patriotism" and who, circulating absurd rumors and mounting provocations, do not respect their own people above all?

My meeting yesterday with Azerbaijani V. Salimov caused pain in my heart. This no longer young man came up to me with tears in his eyes. He told me that his wife is Armenian, that they have lived together for 30 years, and that they have three children. Three people had burst into his home and demanded that she not be there in 3 hours' time. "What am I to do?" the distraught man asked hopefully. I calmed him as much as I could. How I would like to readdress this question to the rally organizers. Let them answer it and reveal their true faces.

...It was 0200 hours. Our patrol had arrested three people. They had on them knives, playing cards, and money—approximately R10,000. We handed the arrestees over to the militia. A knife and a signal pistol were discovered during an inspection of a vehicle belonging to S.B.... I could not help thinking of the militiaman injured by a rocket. We took the arrestee to the commandant's office. There was already an entire arsenal of "trophies" there: bottles containing gasoline, acid, and an incendiary mixture; knives, and rifles.

...In the Armenian district I chatted with O. Muradova. She and some other residents were whiling away the night by a bonfire.

"I cannot sleep," the woman grieved. "I am grateful to people for sheltering the children. I have been thrown out of my own apartment, and other people have been installed there...."

We went to the address given us. A different family really was living in the apartment.

"Can you call this living?" M. Rustamov said agitatedly and pointed to the corner of the room, where children were sleeping on the floor. "We left Armenia's Vardenisskiy Rayon 2 weeks ago. All this time we were right on the street. And then people said there was an empty apartment. I realize I have broken the law, but...."

National dissension can bring nothing but sorrow and mental pain. But those political adventurers who are to blame for the fact that refugees have appeared among peoples who have from time immemorial lived in the same land are remaining in the shadows. You will not so easily meet the main instigators in the night streets of the city whose multinational population has lived and, I am sure, will live as a united working family. But how important it is for people to learn to recognize lies, whatever national or religious packaging they are wrapped in.

...We returned to the subunit at dawn. On taking his leave, Guards Jr Sgt S. Prisyazhnyuk recalled our night-time conversation:

"Do you know what answer I gave that Armenian woman? I said: We are for the truth!"

A smile lit up the tired face of the guards junior sergeant. I knew he would be back at his post in the evening.

NKAO Resort Decision Abrogated

NC0112101888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers published a decision adopted by the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. It said that the decision adopted by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Gorispolkom on 1 November 1988 upheld the decision adopted by the Askeran Gorispolkom on 28 October 1988 for allocating 6 hectares of Engels Kolkhoz land in the Tophana region to be used for the construction of a vacation resort for the Armenian SSR's (?Kanakher) aluminum factory. This has been the main reason for beginning construction of production units and other installations for the (?Kanakher) factory cooperative.

The decisions referred to have been regarded as a violation of Article 18 and 48 of the Azerbaijan SSR land (?registry law). According to Articles 18 and 48 of the Azerbaijan Constitution, these lands are regarded as part of the lands designated for agricultural purposes. They can be allocated and given away only on the basis of an Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers decision.

Taking guidance from Articles 20 and 47 of the Azerbaijan Constitution, which concern the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and NKAO, respectively, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers abrogated the decision adopted by the NKAO Gorispolkom for allocating lands to construct a vacation resort for the Armenian SSR's (?Kanakher) aluminum factory in Askeran Rayon's Shushikend. As has already been reported,a special account has been opened in the Azerbaijan SSR housing and social bank for the restoration of the Tophana forest.

The newspapers report that the account number is as follows: 70-00-75.

New Kirovobad Gorkom Secretary

NC2911073488 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report on the plenum of the Kirovobad Gorkom that examined organizational questions. Comrade Bigirli has been relieved of his duties as first secretary and member of the bureau of the gorkom in view of his transfer to other work. Comrade Mamedov has been elected first secretary of the Kirovobad Gorkom. He is the former chairman of the Kirovovbad Gorispolkom. Comrade Orudzhev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, spoke at the plenum.

New Nakhichevan Obkom Secretary

NC3011061988 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report on the plenum of the Nakhichevan Obkom which examined organizational questions. Nurradin Mustafayev has been relieved of his duties as first secretary and member of the bureau of the obkom, in view of his transfer to other work. Comrade Isayev, former chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Nakhichevan ASSR, was elected first secretary and member of the bureau of Nakhichevan Obkom. Comrade Rasi-Zade, member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum.

Tense Yerevan Situation Remains Mostly 'Calm'

Correspondents Report From Yerevan

LD2911193488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Special correspondents Karen Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov report from Yerevan]

[Text] [Korotkov] Depression and expectation: These words may describe, in brief, the moral and psychological state of Armenian residents. Aircraft carrying Armenians who have left their homes in Baku, Kirovabad, and other Azerbaijani towns and rayons, arrive at Yerevan airport daily. They speak of relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations, which have sharply deteriorated. Because the local media regrettably provide no official reports on the events, this fact breeds even more rumors and conjectures.

[Khomaryan] The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has instructed the local bodies of power to set up commissions on refugees in all towns and rayons of the republic. They should adopt effective measures for providing them with permanent or temporary lodging, organizing medical and material assistance, organizing medical and material assistance, and solving the problem of their work, studies, and daily life. More than 7,000 Armenians from various rayons in Azerbaijan have arrived in Yerevan already.

[Korotkov] Besides, the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs told us that since the curfew was introduced the situation in Yerevan has remained calm on the whole. Public transportation services are working and shops are open. The normal pace of work is being restored, although slowly, at industrial enterprises. There are no rallies, demonstrations, or street marches. Yet whatever conversations we have had lately, they have all focused on a single topic, as a rule: on a just solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the settling of relations between nationalities, which have acquired the harshest forms in this region.

Very true words sounded at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: These problems require a proper analysis and proper solutions. When developing and implementing plans for revolutionary restructuring, we should proceed from the fact that we cannot succeed if our reform work does not take into account the interests of all the nations residing in our huge country.

Restrictions To Be Modified

LD3011214588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents V. Nazaryan and Ye. Nikonov in Yerevan]

[Text] The situation in Yerevan is still tense. However, these days more and more people are coming to the conclusion that relations between nationalities cannot be solved haphazardly in the heat of emotions. Thoughtfulness and balance are needed. Confirmation of this idea can also be found in the material of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, published today in the press. [video shows street scenes, people reading newspapers displayed on street]

Over half the industrial enterprises are working in Yerevan. Transport is functioning, as are commercial and consumer services. True, this does not suit everyone. There are people who see advantages to whipping up passions. There are some individual appeals not to go to work. For example, exploiting the gasoline shortage, some people have been spreading a rumor around the city that the military command has allegedly forbidden private cars to be driven. This absurdity was quickly exposed, of course, but the main thing is that most people no longer support attacks of this kind. [video shows industrial scenes, crowds on the sidewalk, lines of cars and people with gasoline containers]

Incidentally, in today's leaflets, the Karabakh Committee also removed its strike calls. Yes, that is not the way to solve the problem. [video shows leaflet written in Armenian on wall being read by people]

Today republican television carried an order from the city commandant on lifting a number of restrictions, which is under preparation. From Monday the curfew will be in operation not from 2200, but from 2300 at night. The procedure for entering the city is also being simplified, which is very important for students who live out of town, and for those who want to bring agricultural produce to the market, for example. [video shows television studio, with television monitor carrying picture of civilian and military man on screen; checkpoint manned by troops on road]

Certainly, not everything is yet calm in the rayons of the republic. Nor are all the enterprises working. In Leninakan, Kirovakan, and a number of rayon centers there have been meetings. Those taking part in them spoke about guarantees for the safety of Armenians living in Azerbaijan and about the need to observe labor legislation in relation to them. [video shows country roadside with cottages, building site]

The flow of migrants is growing. Azerbaijani families are leaving Armenia, and Armenians are moving out of Azerbaijan. According to figures from the republican Council of Ministers, the number of people who have come into Armenia has already reached almost 20,000 to date. They are being housed in lodging houses, hostels, with relatives and with friends. But the problem of housing them remains, of course, acute, which is how the whole autumn has been in Armenia. [video shows family carrying possessions in plastic bags, crowds of unhappy-looking people getting off a plane]

Paper Scorns Yerevan Strikers

PM3011120288 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 6

[Special correspondents Ye. Kubichev, N. Ordinyan report: "Who Needs Strikes?"]

[Text] Yerevan—Every morning, when the stores open in the Armenian capital, they have fresh milk, sour cream, sour milk, curds, cream, and the cheese known as "Domashniy." All this is the produce of the Moloko Production Association, whose chief enterprise lies on the outskirts of Yerevan.

We walked through the sparklingly clean courtyard, accompanied by the association's general director, Smbat Akopovich Tonoyan, into the shops, where domestic and imported high-productivity equipment is in use. It was the lunch break, but chemical engineer Knarik Oganesyan was still in the laboratory.

"You know, of course, that many collectives are not going to work, they are striking. But you and your comrades are turning up for work on time."

"I am an Armenian, and all my people's concerns are my personal concerns," the young woman replied. "But you know, somehow I can't sort it out in my head: What do they mean—not working? After all, people really need our output! I cannot imagine a mother running to fetch milk for her children in the morning, and finding no milk, because the 'Moloko' association is on strike... No, it's not possible!"

If only everyone was so well aware of the interconnected nature of our lives! Doubtless when the well-being of your fellow citizens in your home city or even in your own rayon depends on your labor, this human interdependence is easier to see. But, strictly speaking, what difference does it make when the consumer of the fruit of your labor lives in Yerevan or in Siberia? Quite recently one of us visited the famed city of Berdsk in Novosibirsk Oblast on an assignment for the newspaper. Berdsk is famed because there they make splendid domestic radio equipment whose renown has spread over the whole country. Well, in one of the shops at the Berdsk radio plant, where printed circuit boards are "stamped," as they call it there, with radio components, we were bombarded by workers complaining insistently that things could not be worse, that it is simply disastrous. The supply of condensers from Armenia is subject to enormous holdups. Because of this they cannot steadily fulfill their shift targets, and they have a shortfall in wages, which does not, of course, promote the well-being of their families... And in what way, pray, do the children of these Siberians differ from the glorious children of Yerevan, who can drink milk only because the collective of a plant on the outskirts of Yerevan does not accept the concept of a "strike"?

Of all the people we are currently meeting here, not one has told us that he is against restructuring or that he does not like the vast movement of revolutionary renewal of society that is under way in the country. But what on earth happens on some occasions to the logic that guides us in our actions? How can you talk about your desire to support restructuring if you are on strike, if you do not turn up for work one day, nor the next, nor the next? Where is the logic of appealing to a state that you yourself are objectively weakening? How can you hope to meet with understanding from people in distant cities and villages when you yourself sometimes fail to put anything into their outstretched hands? The process of democratization has made possible for all of us many of the things we longed for over the decades, but, dare we suggest, one thing the peoples of our country never longed for was the opportunity to strike...

A curious detail. The "Moloko" Production Association receives half its raw materials from Belorussia, Krasnodar Kray, and the Ukraine. According to the general director of the production association, these raw materials have been coming in without interruption for many years. And you can imagine what the stores of Yerevan would look like if, for all their willingness to work, the Yerevan milk processing workers suddenly failed to receive raw materials because of strikes by their suppliers.

One of us is Armenian and the other is Russian, and the present and historical fate of the Armenian people is not a matter of indifference to either of us. Nor is the fate of any of the brother peoples of our union. It is distressing and painful to hear the simple stories of those who have left their homes and are now arriving in Yerevan from Azerbaijan. There are considerable difficulties with housing these people. And one obvious thought nags us: Are construction workers who walk out on their jobs really showing love for their compatriots?

A few words about life in the city: The military commandant has announced that in all eight rayons of Yerevan the reception of citizens has been organized on a regular basis by the rayon military commandants, as well as their deputies for political issues, and Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, military commandant of the city, is also holding receptions. Servicemen have been given a categorical order to let ambulances pass without hindrance at night. Special buses have been allocated for taking Aeroflot passengers arriving in Yerevan after 2200 into the city. The number of flights by patrol helicopters has been cut, because the people of Yerevan were complaining about the noise. So as to ensure that night work by enterprises and municipal services are not disrupted, some 100,000 passes have already been issued, and this process continues. A plan has been drawn up for Yerevan's scientists, journalists, and party workers to meet with the garrison contingent for the purpose of explaining the situation prevailing in Armenia.

Yerevan Refugee Figures Cited

NC0112091888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper carries a statement from the commission of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR on the issue of refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR. At a commission session it was noted that the situation in the region remains as tense as before and that the intensive emigration of the population from Azerbaijan to Armenia and from Armenia to Azerbaijan is continuing. By 30 November, 30,907 persons had arrived in Armenia, and 40,652 Azerbaijanis had left the republic.

The appeal for the temporary settlement of refugees has found a warm response among our population. A movement to temporarily accomodate refugees with citizens who have enough living space is widespread.

The commission has received an offer from the All-Union Children's Fund named after Lenin to send arriving children to [word indistinct] for rest and schooling.

Tense conditions continued to prevail in the republic yesterday. This is a quote from a report with data from the MVD of the Armenian SSR: In certain populated localities with both Armenian and Azerbaijani inhabitants, there were clashes resulting in injuries. An especially tense situation has arisen in the Masiskiy, [word indistinct], Araratskiy, [words indistinct] rayons of the republic. The report emphasizes that the rhythm of labor in Yerevan and other cities of the republic is being restored slowly.

Urgent Refugee Measures Adopted

NC3011124088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] The regular session of the commission of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR on the issue of refugees from Azerbaijan was held yesterday. It was noted that between this February and 15 November, 28,000 Armenians arrived in the Armenian SSR from various parts of Azerbaijan as a consequence of the unprecedented acts of vandalism and violence perpetrated against the Armenian population in Sumgait. All of them have been accommodated in various towns and rayons of our republic. Many have exchanged their apartments. More than 190 residences for refugees are now under construction.

However, because of the sharp exacerbation of the situation in Azerbaijan, there has been a new wave of refugees since 22 November. More than 20,000 persons have already arrived in Armenia. Most of them reach the republic without any necessities, clothing, documents, or money and require medical and material help as well as moral support.

The commission is adopting urgent measures for the temporary accommodation of all refugees and providing them with the necessary assistance. The refugees have been temporarily accommodated in almost all the rayons and towns of the republic. Many have found shelter with relatives and acquaintances. Some refugees have been accommodated in boarding houses, rest homes, hotels, and hostels. Other premises are also being used for this purpose. For the temporary accommodation of the refugees it is regarded as expedient to make use of abandoned houses and apartments. The feeding of the immigrants has been organized everywhere. They are being given medical and legal help. Measures are being adopted to provide them with all relevant information.

Considering the growing activity with regard to the resettlement of refugees, the commission has laid down appropriate tasks for their reception and accommodations for all ispolkoms of town and rayon soviets except those of Yerevan. Ispolkoms of local soviets have been instructed to adopt urgent measures for the strict fulfillment of the prescribed tasks.

The commission appeals to the republic's population with the request to provide, to the extent possible, dwellings for the refugees who have been left without a roof over their heads and to report this to the appropriate ispolkoms of local soviets.

The commission also appeals to all builders and transport organizations and their labor collectives, and to the building industry enterprises, and calls on them to organize work around the clock everywhere in order to speed up the completion of unfinished dwellings in all towns and rayons.

The session was chaired by Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, who is also chairman of the commission. He also spoke at the session.

Tbilisi Passions Inflamed by 'Extremists'

PM2911130588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar as part of feature under the general heading: "To Display the Greatest Responsibility"]

[Text] Tbilisi—For several days now dozens of people have been on hunger strike in front of Government House on Rustaveli Avenue. Why? Slogans of a nationalist nature predominate. Portraits of leaders of Georgia's Menshevist government, which has vanished into oblivion, have even appeared. Surrounded by young people, certain speakers reinterpret history in their own way and sow spiritual discord. They like neither the existing USSR Constitution—the fundamental law of our unified state—nor the changes arising out of restructuring which today are at the center of the attention and the everyday concerns of the entire Soviet people. It is also possible to hear in Rustaveli Avenue appeals which merit discussion. They concern ecological problems and a solicitous attitude toward ancient monuments. Incidentally, solutions have already been found to many of them. And certainly not in connection with the present demonstrations and hunger strike. Public opinion is being taken into account today more than ever before when formulating decisions and rectifying real mistakes. But inciters and extremists refuse to take this into consideration because the fate of a particular historical monument, let us say, is for them merely an excuse to inflame passions and destabilize the situation.

Threats are sometimes made at rallies against servicemen and members of their families. There are even excesses. On 25 November, at night, one G. Isakadze made his way onto the roof of Government House in an intoxicated state and sullied the honor of the state flag of the Georgian SSR. The city prosecutor's office has instituted criminal proceedings.

Prominent writers and scientists are currently appearing on republican television to appeal for prudence and responsibility.

Tbilisi Hunger Strike Ends

NC3011094688 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the review of ZARYA VOSTOKA and MOLODEZH GRUZII]

[Text] The papers publish a GRUZINFORM report entitled "Common Sense Has Won." As already widely reported, unsanctioned meetings organized by certain individuals and informal associations have been held in front of Government House. Moreover, a considerable number of young people had, as is known, declared a hunger strike.

Naturally, all this caused the serious disruption of the normal tempo of the city's life, ruptured the work of educational institutions, enterprises and establishments, and posed a real threat to the life of the hunger strikers. In view of the deterioration of their health, many of them were hospitalized by special medical teams who were on duty around the clock in front of Goverment House.

In the not so simple situation that this created, a maximum of self-restraint and responsibility was displayed by workers of law enforcement organs who, with much tact, in exercising patience and carrying out enlightenment work, tried to avoid any further complication of the situation in the city and to maintain the necessary order.

Social activists, writers, scientists, educationalists, and workers of health and law enforcement organs appeared on republican radio and television, as well as writing in the newspapers, and called on the youth of the republic to be guided by reason and common sense during those very tense days. Many of them could be seen personally moving among the young people. They held principled and sincere conversations with the young men and women, debated with them, warned of errors and unconsidered acts, and set them on the right path. Reason and common sense, and warm and sincere words in the appeals heard over the radio and television, determined the outcome.

On 29 November at 1300 hours the hunger strike was called off. Those gathered outside Government House dispersed, traffic was resumed, and life in the city returned to normal.

And one more thing: The events that have taken place and caused so much alarm and anxiety among all of us must become a lesson. Democracy and glasnost have to be learned.

Belorussian Cultural Degradation Deplored

PM2911130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Nil Gilevich, first secretary of the Belorussian SSR Writers Union Board and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, under the rubric "The USSR Is Our Common Home": "Whose Voices Are We Hearing?"]

[Text] **Minsk—The revival of the ancient tradition of "Dzyady" Remembrance Day [religious festival celebrated on 28 October] and a requiem rally to honor the victims of Stalinism, the victims of war, and all who merit remembrance by the people was unexpectedly tainted. People arrived at the appointed place near the city cemetery wall, many of them bringing flowers and accompanied by children, but were forced to disperse under militia pressure.**

Many of Minsk's residents are discouraged, disappointed, and dismayed.... What does all this mean? they ask.

Like many others today, I also think of my own people and their destiny. About how realistic is the "danger of their catching the disease of nationalism," since this is the actual bogey used to scare people. I recall the countless times I have heard visitors say: "Your people are so good, brother! Industrious, conscientious, modest. Unaffected and sincere in their contacts. And mainly hospitable, affable, and congenial toward people of different nationalities speaking different languages...."

I recall this, and I think to myself: There are things to make you feel joyful, there are things to make you feel proud. I would like to say that this feeling of innate congeniality and favorable disposition toward other nations really seems to run in our people's blood. What I mean is that it is rooted in the distant past, that it was cultivated by our forebears down through the centuries as a most valuable spiritual and moral quality. And we of course know how greatly it was deepened and strengthened during the 7 decades of Soviet power as a result of purposeful educational work, and mainly by life itself. Suffice it to recall the international composition of the partisan armies in Belorussia's forests, of the host that delivered our people from fascist genocide, of the labor teams which came to our scorched and devastated land to help us raise cities and villages from the ashes, restore the economy, and revive life.

But here is a paradoxical and unbelievable question: Can the feeling of respect for others be the cause of forgetting one's own national dignity and origins, the cause of rejecting one's native language and culture? Yes, the question is unbelievable, but the situation is unbelievable as well. Apparently a people of 10 million are, of their own accord and voluntarily, rejecting their own identity in favor of "fusion" with another people. Of their own accord? Consciously and voluntarily? This is the real crux of the matter. The eyes of the masses will not open until such time as this dishonest and absurd fairy tale is debunked, until such time as the whole truth about when, why, and how this self-denigration and self-rejection began and continued for decades on end. Some people actually fear this eye-opening. After all, it will then be necessary to tell the whole truth about Stalinshchina, about the repressions, about distant Kolyma, and about nearby Kuropaty in Minsk's suburbs.

My thoughts turn to our young people—thinking, seeking, serious. After all, their "green" heads and tender hearts have recently had to cope with the heavy burden of what I would describe as nightmare information, information which would make even the hair of adult, experienced, and hardened people stand on end. This makes it that much more necessary for them to look into all this; they need to speak out and, if you like, to shout out. And they would like to do something specific for restructuring, for their own future. Especially in the sphere of national culture, where the stagnation and neglect are most obvious. Young and impatient, they want to see substantial changes occurring in this sphere immediately, right now.

You can understand them but you cannot agree with them, because the accretions that have built up over the decades cannot be eliminated overnight. What is needed is painstaking, persistent, and selfless work—propaganda-educational, and especially practical work. But if one could understand the impatience of the "hotheads," it is absolutely impossible to understand the stance taken by those who seemingly intend to stretch restructuring over an indefinite number of years. How could anyone, for example, understand and agree with the idea that, according to the authorities' latest commandment, children in the republic's urban schools should start learning their native language in the second rather than the first grade? What educational science on earth, what methodology could think up something like this? And yet our own has managed to do it. Not our educational science, of course, but the brotherhood of officialdom which has taken over school work.

The hotheads and the impatient feel that the most correct way to further expand restructuring in the republic is to completely copy everything that our Baltic neighbors are trying to do in their area by way of experiment. No matter how distressing it might be to say it, this is a delusion. Of course, other people's experience is useful, it must be taken into account, but a serious job like the organization of a people's movement in support of restructuring must without fail be approached on the basis of the actual situation in one's own republic; otherwise it would be quite easy to end up with political adventurism.

And yet the real state of affairs, the historical prerequisites, and the social and psychological conditions here in Belorussia are significantly different from their counterparts in the Baltic republics. Is it possible to disregard all this? Is it possible to overlook today's public opinion and the mental attitudes of the broad strata of working people, today's level of their historical, national, and moral awareness? For as long as the press carries statements by young Belorussians like "I detest this 'native tongue' of mine" (!), "I simply get furious when Belorussian words slip out when I talk" (!), and the newspaper does not even bother to tell its readers that this is immoral, that this is psychological immorality, our thoughts must obviously turn primarily to the question of how a man, our contemporary, has been brought to this shameful position, and how he is to be led or dragged out of this condition? It is absolutely necessary to lead him out of it, because someone who hates the language of his native land and its culture is not only inadequate but is also harmful for society.

I have no desire to reproach anyone—this is a delicate matter, a matter of personal conscience, a matter of inner culture, of education, of world philosophy. But here are a couple of ideas that at times unwittingly cross one's mind.

First. Why is it that many people—famous, recognized, and singled out for office, titles, prizes, and awards—are neither to be seen nor heard among those who today are so much worried about the future of their native language, culture, land, and nature? After all, their recognition and their regalia were awarded in the name of the people, and if the people are today trying to figure out the situation and find an answer to complex, difficult, and I would say painful questions, do our high-ranking citizens have the moral right to quietly sit on the fence and keep silent?

Second. People of various nationalities, our brothers in arms, live and work in the republic. Many have lived here a long time, almost all their lives. Belorussia has become their second motherland, and their attitude toward this land and culture is assumed to be... let us say, respectfully familiar. But why is it that so few of their voices are to be heard in today's alarmed chorus in defense of the vital interests of the republic and the people?

Could they be indifferent to the fact that, right before their eyes, the sphere of the Belorussian language's use is being dangerously curbed, that an original national culture is being "curtailed," that a large Slav people is losing its character and is turning into an averagely impersonal (faceless) population? At least the intelligentsia should realize that these processes are abnormal, that this is the consequence of gross violations of Lenin's nationalities policy in the sphere of education and culture, and that it is bad in principle because it is not to the benefit of man and mankind.

Let us be frank: A certain part of the socially active population was brought up in the past to have a not quite respectful, and even hostile, attitude toward the nationally aware creative intelligentsia. I felt depressed and saddened at the last session of the republic Supreme Soviet when I witnessed a deputy's crude attacks against Belorussian writers being ardently applauded in the hall—and not by "isolated comrades," alas. Speaking at the end of the session, the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium of course set the speaker straight, and in very condemnatory terms at that, but facts are facts: There is a petty bourgeois philistine view of the direction taken by the development of national culture, art, and literature, by the creative intelligentsia's activity. A view which can bring nothing good unless it is overcome. The underrating of culture and of aesthetic and moral principles in society's life is something extremely, extremely dangerous.

We all were profoundly impressed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's 26 November session. The open conversation and the concern expressed by deputies, coupled with the benevolent and calm tone, the depth of penetration into the essence of problems, and the convincing arguments and facts—these are an instructive lesson for all who are involved in solving the most complex questions of the development of the fraternal republics' economy and culture.

These times make it incumbent upon us to realize the main point: The great renewal of our entire life can be secured only through energetic activity by all of society's healthy forces, only through pooling the efforts by the country's millions of honest working people. But this pooling will become possible only provided there is no further development of selfishly reckless motivations and desires, only provided maturity and wisdom gain the upper hand and determine the course of events. Maturity and wisdom that are acquired not just in the course of life, but through the real suffering we all experienced during the decades of marching along the common path. Anything else does not befit our great socialist country.

Uneasiness Reported in Baltic Republics

Intensified Ethnic Tensions

WA18120017 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 44, Oct 88 pp 30-33

[Article by Leonid Mlechin: "Alienation: Why Has Ethnic Tension Intensified in the Baltic?"]

[Text] "The Estonians as a people are in a critical state. Since the war the homogeneity of our population is five times higher than that of Gastarbeiter, or guest workers, in the FRG. Imagine a Moscow where half the people are Chinese.... Estonians no longer feel at home in Estonia. We are haunted by the fear of extinction as a Nation."

"Latvians are on the brink of extinction. The birth rate is falling and there are more and more babies with congenital pathological abnormalities. The influx of migrants is preventing the Latvian people from reproducing itself biologically and culturally, and the migrants are the first to get housing and places in childcare centres. We cannot live with the thought that we are the last generation of a vanishing people."

One hears such chilling statements all over the Baltic. In Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, wherever I went the leaders of the Popular Fronts or the Perestroika Movement are speaking out from rostra and in newspapers about the plight of their countrymen, raising the alarm and calling for immediate action. The extinction of the nation, the loss of the native language, the preponderance of migrants and the ethnic question are constant subjects of conversation in which facts often come second to emotions.

History

Many people in the Baltic attribute the present demographic situation to Stalin's crimes and the errors of the leaders who succeeded him. Repressions in the Baltic began almost immediately after the republics joined the Soviet Union. Not just former policemen, members of pro-fascist units and government officials, but members of the intelligentsia with unsullied reputations were deported. The last deportation before the war took place on June 14, 1941, one week before nazi Germany attacked. In the 1930s, many Latvians living in the Soviet Union, mainly revolutionarists, the legendary Lettish sharpshooters who had left their country to help build socialism, were liquidated. Aleksandrs Drizuls, member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, proceeding from prewar population censuses (inasmuch as they can be relied on), believes that at least several tens of thousands of Latvians living in the USSR perished.

After the war, repressions in the Baltic resumed, their main target being the rural population. Many farmers were declared to be kulaks. On March 25, 1949, 43,000 Latvians were deported and their property was confiscated. The republic was deprived of people who were able and willing to work and were loyal to the authorities. In this way Stalin's collectivization effectively undermined Latvian agriculture.

I heard similar stories in Lithuania and Estonia. Mark Soosaar, first secretary of the board of the Estonian Cinema Workers' Union, thinks that in the 1940s Estonia lost almost a quarter of its indigenous population, including those who "left in 1944, fearing a repeat of Stalin's pre-war repressions." More than 37,000 families (120,000 people) were deported from Lithuania before and after the war. Incidentally, so far only 12,000 of them have been rehabilitated. The process of rehabilitation and the return of part of their property has dragged on for decades. The work speeded up this year when commissions of the Council of Ministers addressed themselves to the question of rehabilitation and damages.

The disappearance of several hundreds of thousands of people had a crippling effect on the small nations. Some people were victims of Stalin's repressions, and some escaped along with the retreating German troops. Now there is a tendency to bracket them together and blame Moscow for everything. I think one should be more careful in drawing up the list of martyrs: those who left with the Wehrmacht troops were nazi collaborators who had fought on the side of Hitler's Germany, and those who took to the woods after the liberation of the Baltic also had their hands dripping with blood. I was shocked when an Estonian cultural figure, reminiscing about the years of the nazi occupation of Tallinn, said only that the Germans had given back to the people all the radio sets requisitioned by the Red Army, that the German officers billeted in his house were by and large very decent people and that after the Soviet air raids of Tallinn he saw only the bodies of women and children, and not of German soldiers.

Even in the flush of polemics, wishing to restore the historical truth, one should not forget how many concentration camps there were in the Baltic, where Soviet prisoners of war and civilians were murdered by local people. In 1944, the Soviet troops came to the Baltic as liberators.

"There were 200 concentration camps in Estonia, but you can hardly find a single monument," says Valdur Timusk, who survived the occupation. "At the most conservative estimate, 150,000 people were exterminated in Estonia.... Many of my compatriots readily agreed to take part in the massacres in exchange for cigarettes, leather soles for their boots, vodka and the chance to rape women who had been condemned to death.... If they fled with the Germans or joined the forest brothers, Stalin had nothing to do with it."

Addressing the Plenum of the Writers' Union, Janis Stradin, Member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, took a more balanced stand when he spoke in favour of building a monument to the Jews massacred by Hitlerites in Riga.

"I think Latvians should take part in this work in order to admit their guilt before the fraternal people, because Latvians also took part in the massacres. Although they were fascists and nazi collaborators, and the people have banished them from their memories, they were brought up and reared by our people.... If we want to think of ourselves as a nation, we must take responsibility for everything our compatriots have done. We Letts need this more than the victims of past terror...."

Migrants

After the war, the Baltic began to industrialize. The predominantly agricultural republics, whose farms had been depopulated, were short of manpower. So, labour began to be imported. This was done by the Union ministries that built their enterprises there. Industry was created with imported raw materials and an imported work force. Its products were exported, leaving the republics with a deteriorating environment and a growing number of "migrants".

The term as such sounds contemptuous enough and is probably supposed to mean that the persons in question are obsessed with changing places of residence, as if roaming the country is their only preoccupation. What about a person who has moved from town to town just once in his life? Is he a migrant, too? Or if he has stayed here for 20 years? Is his son to be branded "a migrant's son?" It was they, according to the local people, who got preferential treatment in being given new flats, who settled here and diluted the ethnic composition of the nation. As a result, Estonians and Letts account for just over half the population in their republics (Lithuanians make up more than 80 percent of the population in theirs).... How is the situation to be rectified? Get rid of the migrants, thinks the Popular Front.

Anger at the none-too-sensible methods of industrialization has turned against the people invited to work here. Yet they did not take the decisions to build these enterprises and they did not ask to be sent here, but were ratified.

Now they are being maltreated and are having to pay for other people's wrong-doings.

One can go along with the Popular Front's arguments against lop-sided industrialization that by failing to take into account the available manpower and natural resources only increased social tensions. It is logical that the Councils of Ministers of the Baltic republics have taken economic and administrative measures to stop the influx of manpower, and have asked the USSR Council of Ministers to postpone the building of new enterprises and the overhauling and expansion of existing ones. When the republics go over to self-financing, they will decide on these matters themselves.

But why are those who have come to work in the Baltic being made the targets of such an offensive campaign? Moreover, migrants are referred to as rootless, footloose people who have lost their links with the national culture, and are ready to leave their home for promises of material well-being. Migrants are said to corrupt society; migrants—not Russians or Ukrainians—are people without nationality; migrants are a gray mass of people with no intellectual potential and therefore hostile to the indigenous population. All the migrants can do is to sponge off the culture and wealth of the Baltic. As if to reproach them, local people say: "For an Estonian, the greatest misfortune is to find himself away from home, to go to another place. To start everything from scratch...."

Most of the migrants being Russian, the flood of humiliating statements has turned against them. It would not be a bad idea for sociopsychologists to look at the kind of image of the migrant that the local mass media are creating and how this image is being extended to cover all "representatives of the non-local nationalities." They might look into how all this is reflected in everyday life, at work and in the services. They might ask how the "representatives of the non-local nationalities" feel when it is asked in their absence whether they should all be expelled or if some of them should be allowed to stay?

Of course, the leaders of the Popular Front would tell you that only extremists demand expulsion. But a Russian or Ukrainian worker in Narva or Kohtla-Jarve can be excused for not following the republican discussions closely enough to know who is an extremist and who is a moderate.

The suggestion that migrants should be paid 10,000 rubles to leave the Baltic came as a shock to the "non-local population". Although the Popular Front promptly disowned the idea, it left a bitter aftertaste. The writer Lennart Meri then suggested that for the sake of national resurgence young Estonian families (Estonian by nationality and not by place of residence) should be given preferential treatment in housing and higher allowances, to ensure that the millionth Estonian is born in 2015. Lennart Meri later said he had been misunderstood. What then, was his real message?

The Popular Front's congress in Tallinn heard another call: to allocate flats to Estonian families in the predominantly Russian-speaking industrialized northeast of the republic. When the plenary meeting of the boards of all the creative unions of Estonia carried a resolution calling, among other things, for "more drastic measures to achieve a negative migration balance in the Estonian SSR," what were the 600,000 non-Estonians living in the republic to make of it?

One should answer the question: are Letts, Lithuanians and Estonians really in a danger of "extinction"? Responding to Lennart Meri, Academician Gustav Naan argues convincingly that there is no danger of extinction. Falling birth-rates and ageing populations are phenomena common to all advanced societies. The same thing is happening to the Estonians, Finns and the Swedes. Naan noted that some peoples in the USSR are in a worse demographic situation. Attempts to improve the situation by offering privileges to one nation smack of nationalism.

What Language To Speak?

Another starting point in the National Front's programme is that the national language and with it, the national culture, are dying. This is a common concern, as the state of the native language worries everyone, including the Russians. The question is, how do you go about preserving and fostering the native language?

"The Latvian language has been impoverished and its vitality, has diminished", says Ruta Viedemane of the Latvian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Language and Literature. The areas where Latvian is used have become so restricted that Latvians no longer feel the need to know it. If schoolchildren are not learning their own language, the langauge belongs to a people going nowhere."

Russian has prevailed in the economy, especially in industry. Russian is predominant in the social and political sphere, although the situation here has improved somewhat, with more party and Soviet officials now having a command of Latvian. In science, the requirement that all dissertations be translated into Russian in order to be endorsed by the VAK (Supreme Attestation Commission) has been in force since the 1970s. Not every kind of higher education can be acquired in Latvian: training in some specialties is available only in Russian. Even in everyday life you cannot always make do with Latvian alone: you have to deal with people who don't know Latvian in shops, polyclinics and post offices.

Conclusion? Latvian should be recognized as the official language in the republic and non-Latvians should be made to study it. Knowledge of Latvian should be considered obligatory for civil servants, health workers and the services. At the same time, opportunities should be created for the development of the ethnic languages in the republic, for example, by reopening Polish and Jewish schools.

The linguistic situation in the national republics is a very delicate matter. An Estonian might say: I live in Estonia and Estonian is enough for me, I don't need Russian. A Russian might say: I live in the Soviet Union, I am quite happy with Russian, I don't need Estonian, especially as I may not stay here for long and may move to some other place.

"In strictly legal terms," notes Jaan Rebane, member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, "both are right. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of every citizen to use his own language. Whether this is a realistic proposition is another matter."

And Jaan Rebane goes on to explain: "The Estonian's argument is wrong because he does not live only in Estonia. He also lives in the Soviet Union, where Russian has historically been the language of communication between its various nations. By rejecting Russian, he deprives himself of the means of communicating not only with Russians, but with all the other peoples. He also restricts his exposure to world culture, as Russian is one of the world languages of our time. The Russian's argument is wrong because he equates the Soviet Union with Russia."

The "melting pot" has failed in the Baltic. The number of mixed marriages is modest and is not likely to increase. Nor has bilingualism brought the desired effect. In Estonia, in fact, there has been a decline in the number of indigenous people who know Russian, and the number of non-Estonians who know Estonian.

The results are evident in everyday life: some complain that it is useless to ask questions in Russian because you will never get an answer, while others are unhappy because they cannot get by with their native language in their own republic. The linguistic confrontation quickly leads to frayed tempers.

To be sure, it is not a purely linguistic problem: with constant shortages of housing, foodstuffs and services, a person speaking a different language, "an alien," is seen as a competitor who is making unjustified claims.

In short, the language problem is rooted in more general problems?

What solutions are suggested?

The national language is to be declared the official language of the republic. This demand has been put forward by the National Fronts of Latvia and Estonia and the Lithuanian Movement in Support of Perestroika. In Estonia, the draft statute on the official language has already been published. The national language is obligatory in all spheres of public and government life, and is the language of official correspondence inside the republic, with the right to correspond in Russian or other language outside the republic. Bilingualism is obligatory in the health and services spheres.

It will thus be impossible to live in the republic and not know its national language. At any rate, those who don't know its language will find themselves at a disadvantage.

Elderly people will find themselves in a difficult situation because it is hard to learn a new language at their age. Why didn't you learn it before?

In the industrialized northeast of Estonia, Russian was predominant and workers didn't need a different language. This, of course, is an exceptional case. Popular Front leaders miss no chance of pointing out that Russians are unwilling to learn the national languages. They have cited figures to show that the indigenous population are better at Russian than the non-locals are at local languages. But other figures can be sized. Seventy-five per cent of Estonians consider it necessary to know Russian, and 91 per cent of Russians think it necessary to know Estonian. This figure is at odds with the widely held view that "non-locals" do not want to study national languages and have no love or respect for the national culture. But do they have the opportunity to do so?

There are no manuals, no teach-yourself books and it is impossible to enroll on language courses. Russian-language schools are chronically short of teachers of local languages: Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian classes have been suspended for years. Moreover, while Latvian schools devote five hours a week to the study of Russian, Russian schools have only two hours a week of Latvian.

Even Russian-language newspapers are trying to come to the rescue of those who want to learn the local language: Sovetskaya Molodyozh in Riga and Molodyozh Estonii in Tallinn carry language lessons and receive a huge mail from those wishing to study.

"I think barring some dramatic change, the situation will grow worse and erupt into open hostility, turning Estonia into a trouble spot similar to Lebanon, Northern Ireland or New Caledonia", says poet Jaan Kaplinski.

The voices of writers has been making itself heard in the Baltic republics over these past few months. The impact of the writer's word is great, and rings like a tocsin in the minds of his audience. Writers have been particularly vocal and outspoken since last spring.

What did the 600,000 non-Estonians feel when they heard prophecies of gloom and doom from a poet, especially in the wake of the troubles in Sumgait?

The newspaper Sovetskaya Litva has carried a selection of readers' letters prompted by an emotional though not verified statement by a leader of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika. "I think such words amount to a call for national discord and the persecution of Russians...." "I think this is more than a mistake. It is an attempt to oppose the interests of Lithuanians to the interests of other nationalities living in the republic. I was born in Vilnius in 1949. All these years I have enjoyed total mutual understanding. Now I don't recognize my native city...."

The leaders of the International Movement, which has sprung up in Estonia, say the aim of the movement is to protect the national dignity of the "non-local population" and counter the attempts of the Popular Front to solve the attempts of the Popular Front to solve the problems of Estonians at the expense of other ethnic groups. They feel threatened by the consequences of the introduction of the national language, by the proposals to introduce privileges for young Estonian families, and by the proposed law on the citizenship of the republic which will, it is said, be made conditional on a command of the language and a residence qualification. Failure to qualify for citizenship would be a moral blow, as it would mean being a second-rate citizen, and deny access to certain material benefits.

The Popular Front is giving the International Movement the cold shoulder and deriding it. The International Movement is blamed for inter-ethnic tensions.

People are not angels. The programme of the International Movement is not faultless. But the Popular Front, which has harped on the need to uphold the rights of a small nation in the face of a big one, claiming that great-power chauvinism is more dangerous than the nationalism of a small people, seems oblivious of the fact that the Russian-speaking population of the republic is an ethnic minority (or several minorities). Consequently, nationalism is not as dangerous as the chauvinism of a bigger nation, the Estonians. Be that as it may, hundreds of people have felt the ground knocked from under their feet. They no longer feel they are masters in their own homes. Who are they? Guests? But they are not exactly welcome here. Lodgers who have been grudgingly offered accommodation? Gastarbeiter, i.e., guest workers?

Will they not end up as "second-rate citizens" in the national republic? Will a Russian or a Ukrainian name be a disqualification in applying for a job or for university?

What reply do they get?

"It is up to each person's individual conscience.... We are combating individual prejudice," say Popular Front leaders.

It must be said that the Popular Front leaders prefer a hard-nosed practical approach. They argue, for example, that respect for the national language can best be fostered not by words but by proclaiming it to be the official, i.e., obligatory language. But their common sense fails them in the important matter of national dignity.

The guarantees of the ethnic minorities must be stronger, and enshrined in law. The Popular Front leaders should not be surprised that the ethnic minorities in their republics are worried and expect an answer. Incidentally, in spite of the considerable Russian-speaking population, the absolute majority of the press publications are not in Russian. As a result, the fate of the Russian minority is being discussed behind its back.

What they fear most is the call for all nationalities to go to live in the places they have inhabited historically. The appeals of the Pamyat society's ideologues that all non-Russians, Jews, Latvians and others should be sent to live in their former homelands have not fallen on deaf ears. They have been taken up and developed; only, in the Baltic, it is the Russians who are ethnics. The local extremists want them to go back to their ancestral homes. Those who hear the calls "Russians get out?" have Pamyat to thank for it.

People would do well to learn, not only from their own mistakes, but also from those of others. The unrest in Alma Ata, Sumgait and Nagorny Karabakh appeals to our wisdom.

The Popular Front has embarked on a great cause, it has restored people's confidence in themselves, in their ability to influence the destiny of their republic. Are the leaders of the Popular Front aware of their responsibility? Or are they only concerned with gaining power as soon as possible? I assume that they are inspired by the noble goal of doing their duty to their people.

But aren't the hundreds of thousands of members of the "non-local" population part of their people? If they consider that "their own" people are only those of the same blood, then this is nationalism pure and simple. I am aware that the Popular Front doesn't like the word "nationalism". In the 1950s, the republic's intelligentsia was decimated under the slogan of nationalism. But those responsible were not guided by the nationality principle. Among the "Latvian nationalists" named at the July 1959 Plenum of the CC of the Latvian Communist Party was A. Nikonov, the then Minister of Agriculture and currently President of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Last summer a woman I know who works at a research institute in Riga was stopped by her colleagues in the corridor:

"We know you have Latvian blood. Sign the petition to make Latvian the official language."

How was she to react?

Her father is Latvian and her mother is Russian. The next thing would be to demand certificates to prove membership of the indigenous nationality, with a blood test attached. And what if the other side demands a similar certificate?

Of course, those who intend to settle in Latvia, Lithuania or Estonia should consider their republic to be their home, take care of it and get along with their neighbors and respect them. This is the norm of human cohabitation.

But it would be immoral on the part of the indigenous population to give a hostile reception to the newcomers, demonstrate their superiority to show their disdain for them.

National strife at the lower levels of culture is strong and fierce. Intellectuals form the bulk of the Popular Front leadership. True, intellectuals at all times and in all nations have never stooped to discrimination on the basis of nationality. An exception was made only when one had to speak up in defence of a national minority. It is the duty of the whole country to care for the interests of the Baltic peoples and to recognize their needs and problems. It is the duty of the Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian intelligentsia to protect the rights, dignity and honour of the Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic.

Estonian Rally Urges Sovereignty

LD3011145088 [Editorial Report] Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2103 GMT on 29 November in its "Amber Coast" program carries a 15-minute report by an unidentifed correspondent on a rally held 26 November by the Zapadnaya Dvina River in Riga. At the approximately 90-minute rally, attended by an estimated 10,000 people, the demand for sovereignty was confirmed and presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies leaving to attend the session in Moscow.

The correspondent read some of the slogans seen on posters at the rally: "You will decide the future of our children," "We are for a sovereign Latvia," "We must not allow the Kangars [a mythical traitor] to blacken the Popular Front of Latvia and its leaders," and "Guarantee the Latvian republic the right to veto." The correspondent also noted a slogan written in Russian which read: "Latvia's destiny must be in the hands of its citizens."

The correspondent then played recordings of the speeches delivered at the rally.

Dainis Ivans, head of the Popular Front of Latvia, opened the rally. He urged that the norms drawn up by the republic's jurists be confirmed in the new USSR law, "enabling the union republics to refuse or appeal against those union laws which essentially harm their sovereign interests." Ivans also called for the principle of consensus among republics to be included in union laws. "I appeal for voting for the republic's economic and other kinds of principles of independence. Voting against such a law would restrict our rights, independence, and self-determination," Ivans said. He further appealed for considering a new Latvian SSR constitution. Until one could be drawn up, in case of necssity, "We could ensure our sovereignty by changing the wording of Article 71 of the Latvian SSR Constitution to read: The coming into force of USSR laws in the territory of the Latvian SSR is being determined by a resolution of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet." Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet Dzemma Skulme noted that the people's desire to work independently is being stopped by centralization and bureaucracy. She also said that having the old Parliament adopt the Constitution's alterations and the election law is contradictory, adding: "The new constitution must be adopted by a new parliament." She further stated that she was depressed that an inflated campaign of Black Hundred adherent articles appeared "in our press and in the All-Union press, and there is a feeling that the process of openness is endangered." The Constitution should not strengthen the power of departments, she said, noting that, in the end, many rulers did not carry any responsibility; they come and go, but the people always remain. Whatever the result in Moscow, she declared, the endless shifting and shuffling, coordination, dependence, and arbitrariness of departments must end for good.

Edgars Melkisis, a university professor and a jurist, also addressed the rally. He said that the preceding day he had spoken with his colleagues in Moscow, who are working and fighting for "the alterations to our Constitution and for the amendments, as we demand them. They asked me to tell everybody that they are fighting for the principles proposed in the republic, which you all support."

Professor Janis Freimanis, member of the Popular Front of Latvia board, also spoke: "We must be responsible now for everything taking place in Latvia and for everything that will take place. The migrants, ephemeras, will not do that for us. We must prepare for the sovereignty for which we are fighting—we must be organizers, managers, and master everywhere and in everything." Following the stage of national self-awareness, a new stage of practical work is beginning for the Popular Front of Latvia, Freimanis said. "Let us be united, let us support one another, let us fight for Latvia," he urged.

All of the speeches were met with applause and calls of "that's right," the correspondent noted.

Illusory Normality in Estonia

PM3011125788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Urban: "To Resolve Problems Together"; this is part of feature under the general heading "We Have One Aim: To Strengthen Unity"]

[Text] Tallinn—First impression: Everything in the city is as normal. There are many tourists in the streets, both Soviet and foreign. The working week is continuing. And yet this "normality" is illusory.

The decisions adopted at the 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session are being discussed stormily in labor collectives, enterprises, establishments, and educational institutions. The session made a principled and clear assessment of what had happened in the republic shortly before that. An extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet had adopted decisions on the draft law on amendments and additions to the country's fundamental law, which is being discussed. The decisions are at variance with the USSR Constitution, and not with regard to details but on questions affecting the fate of our union—M.S. Gorbachev stated this frankly and unequivocally at the Presidium session. These decisions must be recognized as erroneous and devoid of legal force.

Thousands of Tallinn residents are now painfully asking this question: How could it happen that deputies of the highest organ of power in the republic voted for such decisions? Many openly state that they were not free of the influence of various kinds of "figures" whose irresponsible appeals and statements have recently been heard increasingly frequently at rallies.

"What is happening in Estonia is restructuring!" a slogan at one such rally categorically asserted. It was held last Saturday on the initiative of the board of the Popular Front in support of the decisions of the extraordinary session of the republic Supreme Soviet. However, does what is happening really accord with the concept of socialist renewal advanced by the party, and with the aims and tasks of restructuring?

Many of the republic's inhabitants voiced serious concern about this several months ago, when the Popular Front's draft program was published. In addition to useful and sensible points, it contained points which bewildered people. This particularly concerns a number of questions connected with the practice of interethnic relations, the status of the Estonian language, and citizenship in the republic.

Need it be said that the formation of a new informal association in the republic—the International Movement, which has united within its ranks primarily citizens of the Russian-speaking population—soon served as an alternative to the Popular Front? Has this served to consolidate the working people, which is what the leaders of the Popular Front were verbally calling for? Alas, no. What is more, it has led to delimitation, mutual reproaches, the attaching of "labels," and the fanning of unhealthy passions. Incidentally, this was also revealed at the aforesaid rally held in the Palace of Culture and Sport on the initiative of the Estonian Popular Front under the motto "Sovereignty and Consolidation."

It has to be pointed out that the republic's party workers were not heard at that thousands-strong rally, and people did not learn the opinion or stances of these party workers. This detail attests to a great deal.

Another event happened in Tallinn a few days ago which for some reason went unremarked. A meeting of internationalist servicemen who had decided to set up their own organization was held in the Fleet Officers House 25 November. There had already been several attempts to create such an organization, but the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee did not meet halfway the former servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan. And only now, when activists of the Tallinn section of the Soviet War Veterans Committee have come to their assistance, has the organization finally announced its existence and, so to speak, acquired a legal status. One of its chief principles is unconditional adherence to the ideas of socialist internationalism and friendship of the peoples. The council includes people of different nationalities, including Estonians.

Former servicemen have expressed their attitude to the present situation in the republic. What is needed today is a clear ideological stand, they said. But precisely this is lacking in the activity of various informal groups and associations which have recently come into being. What is more, extremist attacks are being made on the Armed Forces, and there have been cases of the desecration of the graves of Soviet servicemen in the cities of Tartu, Tallinn, and others.

The uneasy autumn in Tallinn is not yet over. The founding conference of the United Council of Production Collectives is to be held 30 November. Stormy discussions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decisions are taking place. Contradictory assessments are sometimes made. Of course, special interest is being shown in the USSR Supreme Soviet session which has begun its work in Moscow.

Many people with whom I have chatted—particularly Doctor of Historical Sciences Abe Libman, the well-known Estonian scientist—express themselves unequivocally: It is necessary jointly to seek a way out of the situation and not lose common sense and a sense of responsibility.

Lithuania Awaits Debate Outcome

PM3011125588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov: "Consolidation Rather Than Confrontation"; this is part of a feature under the general heading "We Have One Aim: To Strengthen Unity"]

[Text] Vilnius—Sociopolitical activeness among the people of Lithuania has been increasing recently. The recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at that session have made a deep impact on the republic's population.

However, the people here are still discussing the recent session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. Lithuanian has been proclaimed the state language in the republic, the national tricolor flag has become the state flag, and V. Kudirki's "Song of the Nation" has been recognized as the state anthem. A resolution on preparing a draft Lithuanian Constitution has been approved. The session was broadcast in full on television, and the newspapers are still publishing its documents.

Glasnost, however, can also be one-sided, and in any case it cuts both ways. The events of the past few weeks have, to a certain extent, polarized the social forces at work in the republic and allowed many people to realize just who is in control of restructuring, and who is simply riding on its back or is even opposed to it—who is really getting down to business, and who is amassing doubtful political capital, at rallies or in the press.

The press has carried reports on the sensational political actions, such as "stop action," undertaken by some of the leaders of "Sajudis"—a Lithuanian movement for restructuring. Actions like these, and also some of the appeals made at rallies and within "Sajudis" circles, are causing concern and alarm among many people living in the republic.

The "Sajudis" leadership has proposed introducing cardinal amendments to the existing Lithuanian SSR Constitution which would in fact legalize Lithuania's secession from the USSR or its disregard of the USSR Constitution and USSR Laws. Deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet did not accept these proposals. It must be pointed out that this maneuver by the "Sajudis" leaders has prompted an indignant reaction even among the movement's ardent supporters. Here is just one of the many letters recently sent to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee: "We have supported the activities of 'Sajudis' from the very first day, but we do not support its appeals to fight for democracy by undemocratic methods and stirring up emotion." This is the opinion of the Lapyalisovs from Vilnius.

The local press has published the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution "On the Current Political Situation in the Republic." It states, in particular, that "Sajudis" has become an active factor in political life. But one also cannot fail to see the many negative aspects of its activity: reluctance to dissociate itself from the "outsiders who have joined it," who repudiate and slander everything created during the years of Soviet power; the disinformation of others via press publications; and personal ambition.

These considerations would appear to be obvious. It is time to move away from the rallies which sometimes give rise to hasty, even extremist appeals and toward concerted practical work for restructuring. It is not confrontation but consolidation of all active, aware forces operating from a socialist standpoint that will ensure the successful outcome of the transformations begun in the republic.

Unfortunately, the idea of consolidation is making headway with difficulty. Here is another example. A new structure has appeared in social movements in Lithuania—a socialist movement for restructuring, "Unity." Relations between "Sajudis" and "Unity" are rather strained, although the two movements are largely advocating similar aims. We also must not ignore the fact that "Sajudis" is mainly comprised of Lithuanians, while "Unity" mainly consists of non-Lithuanian speakers, primarily the Russian-speaking population. Vehement mutual accusations of nationalism and chauvinism are one consequence of this.

...Lithuania is living in anticipation of the decisions forthcoming from the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session now begun. Last Saturday, a group of deputies from the country's highest body of state power who live in the Lithuanian SSR made a statement to the effect that a number of articles in the draft laws to be submitted to the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session do not envisage broadening the rights and independence of the union republics. They have, they say, "their own stand"....

A meeting organized by "Sajudis" with some of the deputies going to the session in Moscow was held in Gediminas Square in Vilnius the same day.

Vagris on Latvian Present, Past

PM2511165188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by the editorial collegiums of the newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA: "Restructuring Needs Deeds and Consolidation of Healthy Forces. Ya.Ya. Vagris, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, Answers Questions by the Newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA"—place, date not given; interviewer not identified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Communists are raising the most important questions concerning the economy, history, and party building in the course of the report and election campaign. Many of these questions are also included in their letters to party committees and to the editorial offices of party publications. The editorial offices of the newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA selected the most topical questions and asked Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, to answer them.

[Question] Having attended party organizations' report and election meetings and having read the editorial mail, we realize that Communists in many collectives are electing totally new and previously "unnoticed" leaders. How do you assess this process? Is this abrupt change of secretaries and of bureau and committee members always objectively justified?

[Vagris] I think I would be right in saying that the current report and election campaign offers one of the best proofs of the party's commitment to the course of restructuring. It began the restructuring with itself and is persistently pursuing the 19th all-union party conference line of boosting the prestige and militancy of all party organizations. Hence the self-critical mood of Communists, and the enhancement of their demandingness toward themselves and toward elected organs and party leaders.

Party group organizers and secretaries of shop and primary party organizations, party committees, and bureaus are held much more accountable for the performance of duties assigned to them. Leaders' work was adjudged unsatisfactory in 55 party groups, 28 shop party organizations, and 24 primary party organizations. The same judgment was passed on the party committee of the "Riga" Furniture Production Association.

Elections of leaders are also more exacting. This was experienced particularly by former party committee secretaries at the "Latrybprom," "Dzintars," "Latviyas Stikls," and "Latviya" Production Associations and a number of other enterprises. New leaders have been entrusted with the leadership of party organizations there. To put it briefly, the processes of renewing the composition of elective bodies are perfectly objective and logical. It is becoming customary to promote to leadership work genuinely efficient, enterprising, and authoritative people who are capable of advancing restructuring in deed rather than just in words, of skillfully working among the masses, of achieving real results. After all, today the acceleration of restructuring needs deeds more than ever before. People must realize that changes for the better are occurring not somewhere far away but right there, in their own labor collectives.

[Question] It is well known that the 19th all-union party conference did not adopt the suggestions for direct election of party organization secretaries, and this was reflected in the new Instruction on the Holding of Elections to Leading Party Organs. But this is at times forgotten in the course of the report and election campaign. Some people even say that it is not mandatory to follow instructions under the conditions of the party's democratization. How are such arguments to be assessed?

[Vagris] First of all, let us more accurately define the topic of discussion. Now, just like before, all primary party organizations which have no bureaus hold direct elections for secretaries. Depending on the meeting's decision, these elections can be open or secret.

Larger party organizations, just as before, first elect bureau or committee members, and these elect the party secretary from among themselves. Some people hold that it would be more democratic for him to be elected directly by the general meeting or conference. This, it is claimed, would make it possible to boost secretaries' prestige and responsibility. Maybe so. But this would make the leadership somewhat authoritarian and would elevate the secretary above the party committee. We are actually striving to intensify collegiality in leadership. In other words, the elaboration and implementation of decisions must be the duty not only of the secretary but of the entire committee. Naturally, this does not relieve anyone of personal responsibility.

The most correct action is taken by party organizations where party committees elect their secretaries from among several candidates, taking into account the previously studied opinion of Communists from the party organization, the opinion of nonparty people, and the entire labor collective.

I think that the new instruction on elections does not in any way fetter Communists' initiative. This is convincingly proved by the elections in party organizations where the composition of party committees was substantially renewed and secretaries were replaced. There are thus no grounds to ignore the instruction. Democracy has absolutely nothing in common with total license. It must not be forgotten that failure to observe the demands of the CPSU Statute and of the Instruction on the Holding of Elections to Leading Party Organs represents a breach of one of the fundamental laws of party life—the principle of democratic centralism.

It is our common concern to skillfully utilize the accumulated experience and to make sure that party report and election conferences in rayons and cities are held in an atmosphere of further development of democratization of party life and deepening of criticism and self-criticism. Let every conference augment the party committee's initiative and skill and help the further growth of every Communist's responsibility and conscientious discipline.

[Question] What qualitative changes must occur following the reorganization of the apparatus structure of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, raykoms, and gorkoms? Will this be something more than an automatic transfer of officials from one sectorial department to another, which is just given a new name?

[Vagris] Of course it will. At present it is difficult to even enumerate the jobs that party committees do. There is probably not a single sphere of life which does not demand concern by party organs. They did and actually still do give much attention to the solution of economic problems. Someone needs assistance in changing the volume of state orders, someone else asks that undisciplined suppliers be given a prod. Some strange situations develop. A roof springs a leak—go to the raykom. Radiators produce no heat—telephone the Central Committee. People know: They won't be turned away, they will get help. But you try and tell someone that economic supervision duties are no part of party committees' functions—people will take umbrage and will feel that we are being too hard.

Really, these questions must be solved primarily by economic and soviet organs; party officials have no right to supplant them. This is why they are duty bound to ensure that every specialist and every official, from worker to minister, does his job and is responsible for it to the party and the people. Party organizations must focus their attention on man, on his education, on his mobilization for the acceleration of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum decision demands of us that we persistently pursue the line of separating the functions of party committees and of state and economic organs, and that we resolutely overcome parallelism and duplication. We bear this in mind and will do everything to ensure that party committees concentrate primarily on party work in the future. Of course, this does not mean that they will have absolutely nothing to do with the economy. The party will retain in its hands the elaboration of the strategy of socioeconomic development, but current problems will have to solved by economic managers and local soviets.

In a nutshell, the Central Committee must switch from edict methods of leadership to political methods. This is a very complex task and its solution demands highly skilled and politically competent cadres. It is already being solved in the course of cutbacks in the party apparatus and its structural reorganization.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau disagrees with the groundless attempts by some people to discredit the party apparatus by means of indiscriminate accusations of bureaucratism. Not a single public organization can manage without its apparatus. Even the Latvian Popular Front already has its own apparatus.

We are not only cutting back the apparatus, but are also improving the system of selection of officials, and are aiming for their greater accountability to elected committees. There can be no question of automatically transferring Central Committee staffers, because sectorial departments are being abolished rather than being renamed. Furthermore, the functions of the remaining departments are undergoing radical change.

[Question] Now we would like to know your opinion on questions concerning the evolution of national statehood in Latvia.

[Vagris] Looking at this problem from a general historical viewpoint, it must be unambiguously emphasized that the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the evolution of national statehood in Latvia. This process, which began in the conditions of World War I, the foreign intervention, and the Civil War, took the form of an acute struggle between two trends in the development of statehood—proletarian and bourgeois-democratic. Today it is appropriate to recall its main stages.

The Iskolat [acronym for "Ispolnitelnyy Komitet Latvii"—Latvian Executive Committee] Republic, which was formed in October 1917 in the unoccupied part of Latvia's territory, was the first national statehood in the Latvian people's history. The slogan of Latvia's revolutionary and democratic forces—"Free Latvia Within a Free Russia"—was being implemented for the first time.

Kaiser's Germany occupied all of Latvia's territory at the end of February 1918. This interrupted the process of the development of national statehood.

Following the victory of the 1918 revolution in Germany, when the government of Soviet Russia abrogated the unjust Brest Peace Treaty, favorable conditions emerged for the restoration and further development of national statehood in Latvia.

This process occurred in the conditions of an acute class struggle. The Latvian bourgeoisie, supported by foreign imperialist forces, strove to seize power. For this purpose, representatives of several bourgeois parties and organizations, without the slightest substantial influence on Latvia's political life at the time, formed the so-called People's Council in Riga, which was occupied by German troops. The Latvian Republic was proclaimed by this Council 18 November. Despite all the ambiguity of this event, it does mark a certain stage along the path of the evolution of national statehood.

At the same time, the process of the further development of proletarian statehood was developing in parallel with the bourgeois-democratic principle. A provisional government of Soviet Latvia, headed by P. Stuchka, was formed 4 December 1918. On 17 December it published a Manifesto proclaiming the transition of all power into the hands of the soviets. The government of Soviet Russia, headed by V.I. Lenin, first recognized Soviet Latvia's independence 22 December. The First Congress of Soviets of United Latvia, held in Riga 13 January 1919, adopted the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic Constitution and completed the process of forming socialist statehood in Latvia.

But the soviet government, under pressure from the united forces of local bourgeoisie and foreign interventionists, was already forced to abandon Riga on 22 May 1919, and the whole of Latvia by the end of the year.

Under the new historical conditions, Soviet Russia recognized the existence of the Latvian Republic 11 August 1920 and concluded a peace treaty with it.

This is, of course, just a brief overview of the history of the evolution of national statehood, but even that testifies to the complexity of the processes which occurred in 1917-1920.

We must remember this, and must report these events without any embellishment, in all their complexity and contradiction, because each one of them left and still leaves its mark on the formation of national awareness.

[Question] Today one can hear many different opinions about events in June-July 1940. Some people even go as far as talking about a supposed imposition of Soviet power on the Latvian people. What could you say in this context?

[Vagris] First of all, I would like to say that historical science cannot tolerate hasty or biased conclusions. The questions it studies cannot be described as simple and cannot be resolved by a vote. I am no historian, but I recall quite well the 1940 events, which are so memorable for the Latvian people. People perceived them in different ways also at that time. They did not please the rich. But the working people came out in the streets with slogans welcoming the Soviet power and the Red Army.

As far as I can recall, there was not a single tank, nor a single Soviet soldier in our Nauditskaya District of Dobele County. Thus, nobody forced people to vote in the elections for the new sejm. My parents, just like the other poor people, went to vote for Soviet power with great trust. It was Soviet power that gave them land and faith in the future in 1940. They were not the exception. That summer, Latvia's working people made their final decision in favor of soviets and socialism.

It is a different matter that events of the summer of 1940 developed into the conditions of personality cult and administrative edict system which had a negative effect on the processes of establishing Soviet power in the republic. One could agree that it is necessary to more objectively interpret the events of 1940 and other periods in history. We are in favor of analyzing honestly and comprehensively, under the conditions of glasnost, the political, economic, and social consequences of these events. Work is already being done along this avenue. Historians and cultural figures are more actively thinking of all this. Through our joint efforts, we will more accurately depict the course of our history's development so as to do away with any "blank" or "dark" spots in it.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is correct in emphasizing: "...we need truthful assessments of our history...and we need them not in order to settle political scores or, as people say, to rend our hearts, but in order to give the due credit to everything heroic in our past and to learn lessons from mistakes and failures."

[Question] And they did occur, both in 1941 and in 1949, during the deportation of Latvian citizens. This is exactly what is brought to mind by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium resolution on the unjustified administrative eviction of citizens beyond the republic's borders in 1949.

[Vagris] All these are indeed the bitter consequences of Stalin's cult, during which heavy losses were suffered not only by Latvians but also by Russians, Tatars and Estonians, Lithuanians and Jews, and other peoples. And even though the deportations of 14 June 1941 and 25 March 1949 were not an acceptable topic of conversation during the years of Stalinism and the years of stagnation, these tragic events were not erased from the people's memory. They had a painful effect on the lives of many residents of our republic. Many were innocent victims. We admit this, and will do everything for the triumph of justice. The republic Council of Ministers has already adopted a resolution on the unjustified administrative eviction of citizens beyond the Latvian SSR's borders on 25 March 1949, and on their rehabilitation with compensation for any damage suffered.

Studies by historians show that the lists for eviction in 1949 were compiled not on the basis of the actual state of peasants' farms but on the basis of agricultural data from 1939. Thus, those who ended up on these lists were not "kulaks" but people who were totally loyal to Soviet power.

In my view, it is also hard to accept as justified the deportation on 14 June 1941, when many people were evicted without trial or investigation, people whose guilt was not judicially proven. Those were worrying times, but this was no justification for illegality.

But it is also unforgivable to forget the conditions in which the decision on the 1949 deportation was made, the struggle which was waged against Soviet power by its enemies during the first postwar years. Many people recall well the events which took place in the republic's rural rayons after the war.

Many party, soviet, and Komsomol aktiv members and members of their families were assassinated or tormented by bandits during those years. There has been and there can be no forgiveness for this banditry.

I am certain that future studies by historians will tell even more about the rural aktiv members tormented in the postwar years and about Stalin's "elimination of kulaks as a class." And of course about the difficult and hard progress of the collectivization of agriculture in our republic. This will be the restoration of historical truth.

[Question] Our mailbag contains many questions concerning the activity of the Latvian People's Front. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has already assessed the course and results of the work of this new sociopolitical organization's constituent congress. But many Communists believe that the Central Committee must clearly express its attitude toward provisions in the Latvian People's Front Program and Statute which, in their opinion, are at odds with the 19th all-union party conference resolutions.

[Vagris] Its attitude is perfectly unambiguous. Anything that is at odds with the 19th all-union party conference decisions will never enjoy support by the Central Committee Bureau. There will be proper rebuffs to any attempts to set the party against the people, to split our society along national or social lines. Restructuring needs consolidation of all healthy forces and not a split.

At the same time, I would like to repeat that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has supported and will support all efforts by the Latvian Popular

Front aimed at accelerating restructuring, developing democracy, and strengthening socialism. We positively appraise the trend, emerging in statements by several members of the Latvian Popular Front Duma, of distancing themselves from the extremist nationalistic positions taken by some Popular Front activists.

Restructuring has now entered a very crucial period; the time has come for action, for practical deeds. M.S. Gorbachev correctly emphasized at his meeting with young people that "even the most progressive and people-oriented policy, addressing man's interests, cannot solve the problems. Policy, rallies, assessments, and slogans must be followed by actions which would activate the policy and set society's entire potential in motion."

Unfortunately, a passion for political phraseology still seems to prevail in the activity of the People's Front. There is a worrying desire to bring up again historical dates from the time of bourgeois Latvia and to use these dates for political demonstrations.

There can be no question that "blank spots" in Latvia's history in this century must be wiped away and that historical truth must be restored. I have already said this in reply to previous questions. But this requires primarily a scientific quest and common sense, rather than juggling with political and at times highly dubious slogans. History must be interpreted and lessons must be learned from it in order to prevent a recurrence of past and at times tragic mistakes, rather than exploiting it for the purpose of aggravating the political situation.

People are now trying to figure out where the real countenance of the Latvian Popular Front lies—in its program documents or in the atmosphere which reigned at its constituent congress and which is far removed from the socialist pluralism of opinions. The answer must not take the form of promises and declarations but of specific deeds by the Popular Front in the interests of transforming all aspects of our society's life, and in the interests of strengthening socialism in the Leninist perception of its nature and character.

I think that now, in this context, there is no particular need to turn back to a detailed analysis of various articles and paragraphs of the Latvian Popular Front Program and Statute. Social practice is richer than any program and statute, and it will prove which program provisions are viable and which are far-fetched.

[Question] Alongside the Popular Front an International Front is currently being set up in the republic. What is your attitude to these processes?

[Vagris] Both the Popular Front and the Interfront must be viewed as specific forms of the expression of the growing political and social activeness of the masses. The Central Committee Bureau expressed its attitude to the Popular Front before and after the congress. The Interfront is still in the process of formation and it has no program documents as yet. When they are published an appropriate assessment will be given. Meanwhile the approach to the Interfront must be the same as the approach to other public organizations. Everything that serves socialism, democracy, and the renewal of society must be supported. And any kind of extremism must be rebutted.

The process of the creation of the Interfront, as is known, began immediately after the conclusion of the constituent congress of the Latvian Popular Front. Many people were frightened off or put on guard by certain overtly anti-Soviet, nationalist, or extremist pronouncements which rang out at the congress. The working class is dissatisfied with its poor representation, both at the congress and in the leading organs of the Latvian Popular Front. A certain amount of mistrust has also been generated among the Russian-speaking populace by their meagre representation in the Popular Front. In a number of instances there has emerged a lack of understanding of certain economic , social, and political problems which have been reflected in the Latvian Popular Front program. It is these and other flaws in the process of the formation of National Front which have led to the emergence of the Interfront.

At the same time the fact that the supporters of the Interfront include people who occupy extremist positions, try to speak with their opponents in the language of diktat, and take up negative stances on certain problems which affect the Latvians' national interests cannot but cause us concern.

However, it would be unwise, to say the least, to pit one front against the other. They should complement each other. In both organizations there are quite a few Communists. And they are obliged to lead these two very important public movements toward unity.

As the Central Committee Bureau has already stated, what is needed in order to successfully implement restructuring is not pitting the interests of one people against the interests of another people, but the equitable satisfaction of both popular interests, not a division of forces but their consolidation, not an exacerbation of interethnic relations but the strengthening of friendship between peoples. What is needed is a constructive dialogue between the healthy forces of the Popular Front and the International Front. As a recent televised meeting between representatives of these two movements has shown, the basis for dialogue and joint actions already exists. To be specific, it is the commitment of both to the decisions of the 19th party conference and a common approach to many economic, ecological, and demographic problems in the republic.

It is within the possibilities of both the Popular and the International Front to come to the forum of the peoples of Latvia with a common platform of joint actions, while continuing their discussion of questions which demand a further joint quest.

[Question] The republic's Russian-speaking population is very concerned at all kind of talk about the status of Latvian as a state language and the introduction of republican citizenship. People are asking whether this will curb their rights?

[Vagris] It is true that many rumors are circulating. They stem from the fact that the Russian-speaking population is insufficiently well informed, for which the news media, too, are partly to blame. As regards a basis for a constructive dialogue on the other hand, it does not yet exist. After all, work on draft legislation about the use of the Latvian and other languages and Latvian SSR citizenship has only just begun. Special working groups established by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidum are working intensively on these matters. These draft laws will be submitted for discussion by the republic's entire population.

I can assure you with utmost responsibility that these drafts are being elaborated in accordance with the principles of international law and Soviet legislation. I believe that there is no need to copy the experience of our neighbors—Lithuania and Estonia—since the ethnic composition of our population and the demographic situation are not identical with theirs and have their own specific features.

I am against any artificially forced demands in the drafts which are being elaborated as regards the use of language for official business or Latvian SSR citizenship, demands which would in any way detract from the interests and the constitutional rights of the Russian-speaking population. All these questions must be approached calmly, given much consideration and dealt with without haste. In order to really change the functions of the Latvian language so that it becomes a state language not only de jure but also de facto, it is necessary to substantially strengthen the material and technical base to make it possible to carry out such a switch, train the necessary cadres, and create realistic and humane conditions, which would encourage the nonindigenous population to voluntarily master the Latvian language. For this to happen, time is needeed.

[Question] Judging by readers' mail, a dangerous trend toward confrontation between teachers and secondary school pupils and their parents has emerged of late, in connection with the thesis put forward by the Latvian Popular Front about the need to split [razdeleniye] two-stream schools, which has been taken up as a call for immediate action in this direction. The situation is virtually getting out of the public education organs' control. What is the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee' attitude to this problem?

[Vagris] As is known, the work on the creation of two-stream schools in the republic began in the early sixties. However, real possibilities and needs have not always been taken into account. In recent years (since 1986) the number of two-stream schools has remained static. In all there are 122 mixed schools in the republic, or 16 percent of the total. Approximately 19 percent of all pupils attend two-stream schools, 18 percent in Riga.

Of late a disapproving attitude toward the work of two-stream schools has taken shape in a certain section of the population. In a number of cases, for instance during the inauguration of the No 93 secondary school, at the No 72 secondary school, and some others, conflict situations have arisen.

This is due to the fact that neither party committees nor public education organs have paid sufficient attention to the creation of appropriate conditions to ensure the successful functioning of these schools. Mistakes were made in staffing the pedagogical collectives, and the right proportions were not observed in the formation of the student contingents taught in Russian and Latvian respectively. At the No 72 secondary school, for instance, some 500 pupils are taught in Latvian and more than 1,000 in Russian, yet the principle of bilingualism has not always been observed in the educational work at these schools. The common interests of both streams of pupils are frequently not met either.

We believe that party committees and public education organs must not tolerate the development of conflict situations connected with the work of two-stream schools, and must step up their attention to the creation of all the essential conditions for improving their work, so that they become model teaching establishments in practice.

Two-stream schools are functioning successfully wherever they are set up not artificially but on the basis of a real need.

Wherever normal conditions for their work do not exist, division is unavoidable. However, we must proceed very cautiously, taking account of the opinions of students, parents, and teachers. What is needed is a well-weighed, sober, and realistic approach to this delicate question. Every adult must remember that any thoughtless step might painfully wound the children's tender souls.

It is necessary right now to start thinking about schools with other languages of tuition.

In order to resolve these and other no less complex problems pertaining to public education, it is necessary to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the 5-year plan targets for the construction of new schools, both in the republic as a whole and in Riga in particular. We must not forget that the number of pupils who attend school as a second shift is growing. In Riga it totals 18.3 percent, in Liyepaya 24.1 percent, and in Valmiyera 31 percent. Clearly a more critical attitude should also be adopted toward the practice of building predominantly large schools in cities, schools for 1,260-1,700 pupils. What we need are smaller schools with smaller organizational and educational problems.

[Question] The Latvian Popular Front Congress adopted a resolution which denounces the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and demands that its editor be removed from his post. Quite a lot of time has passed since the publication of the resolution; however, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee attitude to this press organ has still not be publicly stated.

[Vagris] The resolution which you are referring to deals with the problem of the assertion of social justice, and it is difficult to disagree with this part of it. However, further on, it condemns disinformation in the coverage of questions pertaining to interethnic relations, accusing the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIA of this, and demanding that its editor be removed from his post.

This kind of claim against a newspaper and its editor seems incorrect to me, to say the least—it is an example of the application of strong-arm tactics vis-a-vis the press. This is evidence of a blanket approach to a newspaper as a whole, rather than a concrete analysis of its individual articles. Naturally, not everything that is published in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA is of a uniform standard. There are controversial articles and articles marked by superficiality. But there are also many vivid and useful articles on current issues. The same applies to publications in the Latvian language.

It is impossible to advocate a socialist pluralism of opinions and at the same time demand administrative sanctions against publications which express a different opinion. If there are convincing arguments, they have to be brought up, but under no circumstances is it permissible to dole out offensive labels. Otherwise we will depart from political debate and return to the diktat which we are trying so hard to cast off.

No matter how bitter the criticism, no matter how unflattering the form in which it is presented, every publication, every journalist must draw his conclusions from it and seek ways to improve his work and enhance the publication's prestige among the readership.

Restructuring is now passing through a very crucial stage of practical actions. And it is the common concern of party officials and journalists to put people in a businesslike mood, in a mood for day-to-day conscientious labor. Only work can advance restructuring and improve our life. It is necessary to identify and highlight more vividly not what disunites people but what unites them, what makes them better and stronger.

Turmenistan: Mary Oblast Elects New Secretary

LD2511174888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Mary, 25 Nov (TASS)—There has been a plenum of the Mary Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, which examined the matter of organization.

The plenum released Chary Gedzhenov from his duties as first secretary of the Party Oblast Committee, in connection with his transfer to other duties.

Kurban Orazov, who had been working previously as a secretary of the Central Committee of Turkmenistan's Communist Party, has been elected first secretary of the Mary Oblast Party Committee.

Yakovlev Addresses Prague Party School

AU2111060188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Our Doctrine Is Strong by Virtue of Its Truth; From an Address to the Ideological Aktiv, Delivered by Comrade Aleksandr Yakovlev," CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, on the premises of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics in Prague on 15 November]

[Text] The historic ties binding our peoples together are closely linked with the fate of Europe; this applies to the issues of social and national liberation, to the experience acquired in two world tragedies, as well as to issues of intercontinental security and cooperation.

During the past 40 years Soviet-Czechoslovak relations have become an important, realistic component of the socialist community and part of the new mutual relations which are being established throughout the continent.

The tenor of these relations is determined by the close collaboration of the CPSU and CPCZ Central Committees, characterized by frankness, mutual understanding, and party-minded comradeship. The Moscow meeting between Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes in January 1988 produced the program of our cooperation, permeated by new ideas.

Today, it is obviously correct to recall that our parties (which are developing their activities in the spirit of the new political thinking) are jointly and significantly helping to implement the concept of a world free of nuclear arms and violence, a world of comprehensive international security and a common European home.

The Soviet Union respects the CSSR's constructive role in the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear weapons in Europe. We support Comrade Milos Jakes' initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

I.

Now Soviet society is engaged in carrying out the most complicated revolution of all—the revolution of the mind. A broad range of attitudes toward restructuring can be encountered in the Soviet Union—some people are enthusiastic and impatient advocates of restructuring, others consider it their life work, still others regard it with scepticism and hostility.

We know that views on restructuring also vary abroad—and that this is also true of the fraternal socialist countries. We naturally welcome the right to have a critical opinion, for we draw the maximum use from criticism.

What are the most discussed topics today, both in the CPSU and in the Soviet society? The topics concern the basic principles of socialism: social choice [volba], ownership, democracy and the flow of information to the public, the people's rule, and the party's political role; the true meaning of these principles, and how to build life according to these principles in practice, without presenting the wish as reality, without squeezing life into the Procrustean bed of ambitions which have not been satisfied. In this way we are also raising the problem of moral principles, both in practical life, and in the sphere of policy—the problem of moral and humanitarian policy, which today means socialist policy. We can grasp neither the sources, nor the goals or course of restructuring, if we fail to take moral principles into account.

Nobody in the Soviet Union is debating whether socialism is needed, or not. The socialist choice was no coincidence, it was a conscious and purposeful choice. A high price has been paid for it. The socialist ideals and values have become moral pillars, anchored in our life and our psychology. Our present "restructuring debate" revolves around our idea of socialist society, of how we want to build it further.

Another thing which I would like to stress with the utmost emphasis is that our history brings quite a number of examples of how reality was forced into speculative schemes (presented as the supreme wisdom, although they were quite isolated from practical life). Restructuring differs very basically from such campaigns, because of its entire substance, the forces moving it, and its goals and means.

Restructuring is not the product of the wish to blind people at any price by a novelty (which is necessarily at variance with the past)—restructuring is the product of life, of the needs of our society, of the necessity to really and truly overcome man's alienation from the processes of production, distribution, power, and creative activity. The purpose of the revival of socialism (as we understand it) is to crush the artificial obstacles erected in consequence of illegal or erroneous practices, to discern the profound meaning of various phenomena, and—in harmony with this—to shape our policy and stimulate and develop man's endeavor and ability to live an active and spiritually rich life.

The theoretical arsenal of restructuring, the ideas which make it what it is, have been ripening in society for a long time, with great difficulties, sometimes for several decades. They are now becoming all the more forcefully part of our policy, of our life.

Restructuring was born 3 and ½ years ago, from the effort to lead the country out of stagnation and to speed up its socioeconomic development. These tasks confront us even today. However, a deep and comprehensive analysis has produced a new and and more extensive understanding of the causes of restructuring. We have fully realized that its historical role and significance carry it far beyond the framework of utilitarian tasks. It is the beginning of a new stage of the development of socialism, a stage based on objective conditions, a stage introducing a new quality of socialism in all spheres of life.

Restructuring is no campaign, it is an objectively developing process, in the course of which social practices, but also the horizons of social awareness, culture, and intellect, are changing. This process is free of any trace or spirit of messianism.

We call our times the era of the victory of common sense and realism—the period of self-examination, self-appraisal, and self-realization, of determining one's place in the world and discovering one's possibilities and tasks.

Under the conditions of the new social order, the gathering of experience in terms of quantity has produced the need for a new quality of social thinking, of spiritual autonomy and humanism. Today many things have come to the fore, which we could not see in the past because we lacked the experience of building on the foundations of collectivism. We are now able to work out a more precise idea of the historical tasks which a truly humanitarian system must resolve. We have become aware of many limitations in the multifaceted social life, of the innovative talents of the human nature—all things which the socialist thinking of the 19th century could not envisage.

The experience acquired during the socialist transformations has enabled us for the first time to discern the most profound mechanisms of preserving and developing social life, of separating the true foundations and the laws governing the people's social existence from the assumed ones, from those spawned by fantasy or by man's egotistical ambitions; and also to discern the errors. Because of the experience acquired by world socialism, it has become possible to discern the uniformity, the dialectic unity of what used to seem either incompatible on principle, or even essentially antagonistic.

First, the former, considerably naive and romantic, notions of socialism's ability to develop automatically, and exclusively along ascendant lines (for the sole reason that socialism is a progressive form), are disappearing; and logically so. It has now become obvious that, in certain circumstances, a society can be hit by stagnation or can start slipping back even under the conditions of socialism.

Second, in contemporary Soviet society—and I am speaking exclusively of this society—the past forms of organizing labor and the way of life, of directing the whole life of society, have become outdated. This applies not only to the frankly distorted forms, but even to many normal forms—normal and logical, that is, for some poor, poorly educated society with an underdeveloped industry. To concede this is not to doubt socialism and its possibilities; it is to grasp the truth that socialism, which is a society of creative self-development, cannot exist in ossified forms.

Third, it is both possible and necessary to speak of a crisis of the technocratic, mechanistic approach to transitions in social life, in which the development of the base ceases to be the means and becomes a purpose for its own sake, and which is reigned by a sufficiently firm anti-Marxist conviction that life and its forms can be arbitrarily shaped according to certain patterns.

Fourth, the conviction that the solidity of an edifice under construction primarily depends on the extent of the previous destructive work has proved unnatural. Socialism means man's prosperity and the upsurge of society on the basis of the sum total of material and spiritual achievements of the preceding generations—it does not mean the creation of new forms of life on some desert ruins.

For centuries, the most outstanding humanitarians have been calling for man's self-improvement. Today, within the framework of restructuring, we are setting a goal for ourselves on purely practical foundations, at the same time asking ourselves: **How can all social institutions—in the economy, in the social sphere, in science and education—be made to contribute to the self-improvement of man and of society? How can they be made to provide the maximum reward for work, searching effort, and talent?**

It is really difficult to cope with the sudden influx of new ideas and sentiments, of enlightenment and discoveries, of unembellished reality, of the merciless, exacting demands of life. The realization of how little we actually know and understand is especially sharp. However, the first step in life has already been taken. The most outstanding spiritual achievement of restructuring is the ability that is now being born in such terrible pains—the ability to see ourselves as we really are, to see facts and events as they really are, to realize that dignified ideals can become a reality, and are not merely a hopeless illusion of some social shlemiehl.

II.

The main lesson of truth lies in the recognition that we are at a pre-critical stage, that it is impossible to continue living as of old.

Both the society and the party came to this conclusion gradually. Although Mikhail Gorbachev's Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress already indicated many structural causes of the difficulties experienced by the country, and although the report stated that the production relations do not correspond to the objective needs of the development of our production forces, quite a number of people were instinctively opposed to such a substantial evaluation of the existing situation.

Many people still harbor the illusion that all the difficulties are due to a lack of initiative and of a cultured approach on the part of the country's preceding leadership—that they are due to the absence of modesty, to our becoming immune to immoral and egotistic acts; and they believe that it is enough for the party to cleanse itself, to show more discipline, to become more militant and better organized, and we will have provided for rapid progress.

Should we analyze the discord in our life, we would find that in every case it stems from some kind of mechanism, from blocked initiative and personal responsibility. The reverse side of many economic and sociopolitical institutions, mechanisms, and processes which we have inherited is manifested by the hampering of creative activity, of the principle of individualism, of personal free choice, and thus also of spiritual life.

The most important thing, i.e., to implement the idea of the primacy of policy over economy, was manifested in the rapid growth of the role of the state and of the administrative factor in the life of our society. Naturally, this also favorably influenced social life. Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that, in spite of the expected process of the state being gradually swallowed up by the so-called civic society, by the "association of producers," it is the civic society that has been swallowed up by the state and succumbed to the diktat of bureaucratic structures.

That is exactly why it has proved impossible to create effective protective mechanisms against the abuse of power. It has become apparent that an excessive concentration of power produces the risk that party and state interests will be replaced by individual, egotistic interests. The many endeavors to speed up the realization of the dream in fact concealed a primitive human egotism, the effort to feel that one is the executor of mankind's historical fate—to erect one's own memorial, to do something that none of the preceding revolutionaries had succeeded in doing.

The principle of the general equality of people, the principle of social justice which is sacred to socialism, was expressed in practice as egalitarianism, as the alienation of the results of work, as the difference between labor and reward, between devoted work and the quality of life; it was turned into a mechanism which hampers creative activity, initiative, and skill. In the interests of lazy, passive people, the justified moral condemnation of private capitalist entrepreneurship was demagogically turned into the condemnation of creative man, of any working person with ambitions and initiative.

The very fact that the nature of society as such is complicated, and that its essential interests are multifaceted and have to be harmonized and coordinated, was underestimated; one understood even less the fact that these interests are essential for development, for enabling society to progress and to overcome its natural conflicts, since only this variety of interests (apart from everything else) makes it possible for a conflict (which is the motor and moving force of social progress) to be formulated and to become apparent.

Thus the unity of the socialist society appears to be a phenomenon which qualitatively differs from any mechanical monotony—it is directly opposed to monotony and even incompatible with it. Socialism does not merely mean deep transformations of social life, it is not merely a revolutionary renewal of this life, or a change of its entire structure. Socialism is humanitarian by virtue of its goals, and of the course its takes to reach these goals.

This is yet another significant reason why we rejected on principle the practices of the thirties and forties. They led to a split in our society, to an increasingly sharper confrontation among its individual components. But socialism unites society and harmonizes all its components in basic and fundamental things, while retaining a possible, and even necessary, beneficial polyphony of a whole variety of specific deeds and issues. Socialism means the consolidation of the society, it means the ability and wish to convince those who disagree, it means to listen to their appraisals and to take their legitimate interests into account. It is only in this way that society will be truly worthy of man.

Only one thing can serve as the criterion of the socialist pluralism of views—the socialist foundations. Everything else is merely the normal and natural sphere of our multifaceted life, which can and must become even richer, fuller, more varied, and more striking under the conditions of socialism. The clash of views, emotions, and interests is inevitable here, and that is why the art of political leadership is assessed according to the ability to make sure that nobody disagrees with the main and basic things—that no person is rejected or isolated from society, and that nobody isolates himself from society.

III.

From time to time we hear people ask: Is this perhaps the crisis of socialism? This question is only natural for any thinking, sincere person striving to live according to his common sense and in harmony with his conscience. In fact, it is precisely this kind of question that can help to qualitatively develop one's mind and one's conscience.

However, people who would like to leave everything as it used to be, whom stagnation and social erosion suit to the bone, are making demagogic use of such questions. On the other hand we have people who would like to use them to stimulate and artificially accelerate the socialist transformations and life itself. The adversaries of socialism, who are trying to prove that the era of socialism, of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and world outlook is allegedly drawing to its end, are also speculating with these questions.

Every definition is obviously relative and depends on certain things. For instance, whenever one mentions the deformations of socialism, an impression is involuntarily created that somewhere there lies unsolicited an ideal model of socialism, the mere application of which would be sufficient for everything to arrange itself. But we know that this is not so. We know that without our effort, our enthusiasm, and our work, without our being tormented by doubts and difficult decisions, without our conscience in fact, no model, not even the most beautiful one, will function, produce, or create anything.

Yet it is apparent that one can speak about developmental crisis as a possible and likely phase in the life and development of society, including society under socialism. In characterizing the current period in the life of Soviet society as the period of a sharp turn [prelom], we speak, in fact, precisely about a developmental crisis.

A developmental crisis occurs when the former forms of social life and social practice come into conflict with altered requirements and tasks of the times. However, the very existence of these conflicts does not yet constitute a crisis. A developmental crisis occurs when society or man are late either in coming to understand the situation that has arisen or in working out effective measures, or if they are late on both counts. Precisely such processes were evolving in our society in the period that immediately preceded restructuring.

One of the most important lessons drawn by the CPSU from the period of stagnation is that it is necessary to create, cultivate, and upgrade all such social, political, and intellectual conditions in the socialist society as would prevent processes from stagnating, as would not leave those who are lazy and inadaptable in peace, and as would reliably neutralize all kinds of avaricious fellows, ensure the maximum social effectiveness of all that is healthy and positive, and, by the same token, stimulate social progress and be conducive to tapping hidden internal reserves and potentials. At the same time, the means applied in this process must reinforce and multiply all that is moral, humane, and socialist.

IV.

The terms which the classics of Marxism used most frequently in defining the new social system were "rationality," "prosperity," "personality," and "happiness."

K. Marx used to draw attention to such characteristics of collective producers as the "rational management of this exchange of substances between them and nature," "carried out by expending as little strength as possible and in conditions that are worthy of, and most adequate to, their human nature." (Capital III, 2).

In his definitions of socialism B. Engels, too, tried to form a symbiosis between personal and production characteristics of the new social system. He combined social progress, the transition from capitalism to socialism, closely with growth in the living standards of the working people, with the creation of "such living conditions for all people as would allow everyone to freely develop his human nature, for everyone to be able to live in a human relationship with his fellow men, free of the fear that his prosperity will be shaken by brute force." (Writings, Vol 2, page 544)

It was certainly no coincidence that these qualitative, functional definitions of the new social system, definitions geared to the human, social results of socialist transformations, figured neither in propaganda nor in scientific papers for many decades.

As for Marx's definitions concerning the democratic essence of socialism and the ideas of self-management by the working people, which the founders of scientific socialism saw as their political ideal, after Lenin's death the task was not even seriously formulated to bring the transient political system that took shape in the conditions of civil war into harmony with the requirements of development and to harmonize the dynamism of the already-built socialist society with the requirement of implementing scientific socialism in a normal social atmosphere. This did not happen because the deformations were profound and strong and because their political and intellectual inertia exerted formidable influence.

K. Marx and B. Engels were consistent advocates of the supremacy of the majority and of self-management by the working people; they were convinced that the right of the people as a sovereign and as masters of their own fate was sacred. Second only to J.J. Rousseau, K. Marx considered it self-evident that people who are subject to laws must simultaneously be the makers of these laws, that government will only act in harmony with the laws if it does not interfere with the sovereign. Marx saw socialism as the most effective way of protecting the interests of the personality and of solving the age-long conflict between the individual and collective principle, between freedom and responsibility. He put special emphasis on the idea of the collectivism of free citizens. The question that occupied him was to find such a form of association as would defend and protect by all collective means the personality and property of every member of this association and thanks to which everyone would be allied with everyone while at the same time being subordinate only to himself and remaining just as free as before.

The classics of Marxism provided for an organic linkage of production democracy with local (community) self-management within the framework of a republican system. In his plans for socialist construction V.I. Lenin saw precisely this perspective and gave due regard to it. At the beginning of the twenties it was self-evident to every educated Marxist that the political system that took shape during the civil war would be of a transient nature. The dispute revolved only around the premises and conditions for the transition to an unlimited democracy of the working people.

The conviction that came about in the thirties that the policy of wartime communism was spawned only by the extraordinary conditions of the civil war does not correspond to the facts. Speaking about the economic strategy of wartime communism Lenin himself used to say that it was connected with the endeavor to advance directly toward communism, to make a direct transition from a political Russia to a communist Russia.

The concept of a straightforward development of the revolution, not only under the influence of the situation of the civil war—which became the foundation of the economic strategy of wartime communism, as a result of the maximal and, in a way, understandable human bitterness which it brought forth—was aimed, also internally, at maximally direct, straightforward paths toward the set highest goals. [sentence as published]

In analyzing experiences, V.I. Lenin used to stress two sorts of causes that had led to the failure of the economic strategy of wartime communism.

On the one hand he sharply criticized himself and the party for lack of skill, undue haste, maximalism, choleric temper, and intransigence, for the attempts to make instantaneous transition to the pure, not market-oriented communist society and to the implementation of the theory of Karl Marx.

On the other hand, however, he spoke about the lack of a creative approach to Marxism, about a lack of independence and of new and bold solutions, which aggravated the mistakes and errors of the economic strategy of wartime communism. In the closing years of his life he spoke with irony about those communists who hoped to find in the works of Marx answers to all the questions that arose in the process of the construction of the new society, who did not see that life and reality are in continuous motion and evolution.

In his article "On the Cooperative Movement," which, according to N. Bukharin, gives the clearest account of the new, second plan for the construction of socialism in Russia, Lenin drew attention to the lack of clarity existing with regard to such seemingly long-resolved questions as the ways and methods of combining private interest with social interests. In January 1923, more than 5 years after the revolution, he termed this problem "the stumbling block for a great many socialists" and pondered ways of resolving it.

In his last works, V.I. Lenin stressed the possible directions of deepening and specifying the plan for the construction of socialism in Russia.

He dealt, above all, with the issue of overcoming the disharmony between class and universal ethics and between the interests of the rapid advancement of Russia and all mankind toward communism and the everyday interests of the working people. If the communist future is to be attained, Lenin explained at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks), the present is also relevant; there must be workers and farmers with well-filled bellies who are able and eager to work. In his last works Lenin draws attention to the human price of progress, arguing that it is not struggle and the revolution that represent the highest value, but human life.

In the years 1921-22 Lenin vigorously opposed revolutionary "destruction," the former partiality for violence, and attempts at imposing the communist forms of life and work from above, with the aid of the coercive apparatus.

He points out that, when it comes to the construction of communism, "nothing gets done by forcing the issue, by means of assault, by being assertive and energetic, by no quality whatsoever, no matter how ingenious."

He points out, furthermore, that absolute guarantees of the preservation of the life of society do not exist and that beyond a certain critical point forced action and accelerated revolutionary transformations cease to be a factor of the development of personality and of social progress and become a factor of the disintegration of the personality and of production.

Lenin was the first of the leaders of October to see the danger of the historic self-satisfaction of the revolution, the danger of its being carried away by the fervor of its cleansing activity. He realized that the infantile disorder of ultra left-wing leanings, if allowed to seize control of the masses and the party, becomes a wholly unchildlike force, one posing the threat of a disaster, of catastrophe.

The philosophical gist of the mistake rooted in the strategy of wartime communism, in the original plan for the construction of communism, Lenin explained, consisted in absolutizing the struggle of antitheses. As a result, one was losing sight of the internal dialectical unity inherent in every antithesis, absolutized violence, and separated discontinuity from continuity. For the very same reason one also failed to respect many factors of progress and underrated the possibility of mutual coexistence of diverse social qualities and of their effective interaction.

The special feature of the new strategy of socialist development which V.I. Lenin set out in detail in his latter works consisted precisely in the effort to make use of the unity of the antitheses of the new and the old for the benefit of the country's development. That which is usually called the New Economic Policy (NEP) is in its social and philosophical essence a doctrine about the conscious and creative unification of antitheses. Lenin was the first Marxist of the 20th century to discern that the mechanism of progress, the mechanism of the transition from the old society to the new society, is in reality much more complicated than the socialists of the 19th century assumed.

The recognition of the necessity to explore new, nonviolent paths toward reinforcing what was new, paths that would not disrupt the foundations of life and would not liquidate any of the two poles of an antithesis, resulted in a completely different domestic and foreign policy, in a new assessment of the situation that arose in the international workers movement, and in new ideas of socialism.

In the foreign policy sphere, this recognition found its expression in the idea of peaceful coexistence, in the idea of peaceful cohabitation of socialism and capitalism.

An important part of "NEP in the foreign policy sphere" was the resolution of the Second Comintern Congress of 1921 about the formation of a "united front" of workers of both currents—communists and social democrats—which in principle allowed for negotiations with the leaders of the Second Internationale.

On the domestic front, the idea of moving away from "civil war" toward "civil peace" had far-reaching political consequences. It provided for a formidable expansion of the social base of the new power, for something like the policy of national consensus. Lenin laid down the task of abolishing the extraordinary revolutionary laws and moving towards the norms of a constitutional state.

The New Economic Policy was founded on the idea of economic competition, on the idea of pushing out private production, by economic means, by the new, socialist production sector.

Lenin arrived at the opinion that in some instances the cooperative sector would prevail in the socialist base. Lenin became convinced that this would be the case precisely because, from the economic and human point of view, the cooperative movement is the most effective mechanism of combining what the instruments of wartime communism did not manage to combine—the interests of the individual worker with the interests of the collective and the interests of the collective with the interests of society; that it is the most effective mechanism of harmonizing all interests in society in a natural way. This is why, ever since then, Lenin argued that "...the mere growth of cooperatives means the same thing to us...as the growth of socialism...." It was also precisely in this sense that he characterized socialism as a system of civilized members of cooperatives.

V.

The picture of socialism, as it is crystallized in Lenin's last works, scintillates with life. There is not a single mention of onesidedness or exaggerated organization.

The new economy was devised as a system of strategic, fundamental compromises, the practice of interaction; of a combination of personal, group, and social interests; of the plan and the market; of the administrative and the economic methods of managing production and social property with various forms of group and family use and the use of nationalized means of production, for example of the land.

It is enough to compare what Lenin wrote in 1921-23 about socialism and the roads to it with what was written at that time about the new society by Western Marxists, for example Kautsky, to convince ourselves how far Lenin moved away from the conventional dogmas of European social democracy, from the dogma of non-market socialism based on one form of ownership.

However, it would be exaggerated to presume that Lenin succeeded in formulating all principles of the new perception of socialism. The change in his views of the objectives and the historical sense of October had only begun. Death interrupted his endeavor to generalize the first experience of the communist change of social life.

However, we can say with absolute certainty that in the last of Lenin's works, especially those which we describe as "political legacy," all fundamental directions toward a breakthrough to a modern perception of socialism were already set, and in that respect Lenin was way ahead of his time.

The evidence of the structural composite of Lenin's second plan for the construction of socialism are its economic and social results—from the viewpoint of economic progress, society's self-management, and the spiritual state of society. Agriculture and industry were developing at a pace unprecedented in the history of Russia. The country was experiencing literally an explosion of cultural and intellectual creativity. Social morals and the traditional norms of interhuman relations, which were shaken in the years of the civil war, were being rapidly restored.

The transition from the NEP, from the flexible Leninist strategy of gradually creating foundations of new life, to the Stalinist line oriented toward accelerating the construction of communism in the USSR in 1929 was not elicited by any crisis. It did not at all stem from internal trends in economic development which came into being under the conditions of the NEP, and it was not the continuation of the party's strategic concepts worked out under Lenin's leadership at the beginning of the twenties.

Only today, discarding the spiritual ballast of the past, under the conditions of public information and democratism, are we beginning to realize the full depth and extent of Stalin's very thorough revision of Leninism. This new finding is one of the results of creative work for the well-being of the people, of socialism, which was done by restructuring and which explains the immense interest in the past, and is itself being explained by it. This creative deed of history lies in discovering the present as well as the past. It goes hand in hand with civic thinking, with responsibility, with the strength of the scientific apparatus of Marxism-Leninism.

The new line, which Stalin submitted at the plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1929 in his speech, on the Right-Wing Deviation in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in essence led to a break with the Leninist strategy of the construction of socialism in the USSR. A profound revision was carried out of the fundamental theses and values of Lenin's theory of socialism, which he formulated in his last works.

Stalin revised the Marxist-Leninist teaching on democracy. By manipulating the term class he, at the same time, created a teaching on a "higher" and "lower" form of social ownership, by which he provided the "theoretical foundation" for the policy of the suppression of peasants' political rights. Under these conditions, the need for a gradual transition to a broad direct democracy for the working people, to people's self-government, and to a legal state became automatically eliminated.

Instead of following the Leninist policy of transition to civic peace, Stalin threw the country and the party into a violent turmoil. He revived Trotskiy's idea that class struggle will escalate to the degree at which the foundations of socialism will strengthen; he called, in essence, for a physical liquidation of all remnants of the old classes. Stalin rejected the idea of coordinating interests, and of intentionally unifying contradictions. The moment of their unity was completely eliminated from the teaching on dialectics. Stalin interpreted Marxism as teaching an irreconcilable struggle of classes and the contradictory nature of their interests.

Thus, in 1929, Stalin had already provided the "philosophical foundations" for the policy of repression, for the nation's self-destruction.

Finally, in the Comintern's policy Stalin proposed—in place of the Leninist idea of careful compromise, of building bridges with social democracy—the "escalation of the struggle against rightist elements in the communist parties," and called for "new class struggles," without which "the victory over social democracy is unthinkable."

Stalin de facto not only revised the theoretical achievements of Leninism, but also deprived Marxism of its humanitarian essence. The human sense of socialist changes found itself in the shadow of means, in the shadow of the idea of total socialization as the purpose in itself, in the shadow of the center's omnipotence.

Therefore, restructuring needs a revived, genuine Leninism. It needs a genuine Lenin, cleansed of the subsequent unscrupulous interpretations, read again in the original; Lenin in the development, in the dynamism of his great ideas; Lenin as a living adviser in the analysis of our present-day problems.

VI.

For all practical purposes, socialism started as a great social hypothesis. Then, inevitably, a period of verifying this hypothesis in practice followed. Socialism, however, is not only practice. As society is built purposefully and on scientific foundations, it also means the process of cognizance. Today, in the period of restructuring, it is time to become aware of this important aspect of socialist construction.

It used to be fashionable to abide by a primitivized dogma. Hymns of praise were sung and pseudosciences fostered. Such "examination" of the laws of socialism, oriented toward what was demanded, deprived scientists of the need to devote themselves to practice, to the factual aspect of a matter. The situation is fundamentally changing today. Today the matter of key importance for us is to know the laws pertaining to the functioning and development of real, existing socialism.

The contemporary transition from the normative approach to functional socialism, which we, however, still have not fully comprehended, is also one of the causes of many difficulties which we come across in the ideological sphere. It is obvious that sometimes the features of real socialism are not as idyllic in practice as the features of dreamed-of socialism, frequently stripped of the limits given to it by life. When asserting the new perception of socialism, one must overcome considerable difficulties. The new social thinking is unusual and variable, whereas many of our scientists, who devote themselves to social sciences, have gotten used to precisely determined definitions that are set once and for all.

For all of us, including scientists and party workers, it is difficult to assimilate—not in theory but in practice—the truth that socialism is the creative strength of the masses, the cause of the masses, that it is development. However, there is no other way, not only to cope with the current tasks, but, in particular, to make socialism competitive, and give it the greatest possible social effectiveness, powerful internal resources and stimuli for its own development.

One of the features of revived socialism is the break in the relations between the party and the intelligentsia. One can say that the alliance between the country's political leadership and the intelligentsia was the fruit of the 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenary session, its first political victory. In many respects it has contributed to the ideological and moral ensurance of the democratic changes in our country.

Life itself, the dramatic lessons from the past, force us to take a new look at the problem of the intelligentsia, abandon the earlier simplistic ideas about the social foundation of the new system. One has to admit that in the past decade quite a number of prejudices and various stereotypes have accumulated, which sometimes prevented us from realizing the unity of the interests of the intelligentsia and socialism. It would be strange if similar emotional obstacles to cooperation did not exist. The intelligentsia felt most directly the pressure of conservatism and suffered most from the bans in earlier times.

When, under what conditions, and whose fault was it that the noble path to a world of common sense, generated by socialism, was transformed into primitive arrogance, with talent being ignored, and unusual independent personalities rejected?

Today we are trying to find answers to these difficult questions, especially in order to protect ourselves against a repetition of anti-intellectualism. In the present historical stage of the development of socialism, of the whole human civilization, we see as never before the danger, the unnaturalness of the confrontation between the interests of the development of socialism and the creative interests of the intelligentsia.

Without spiritual freedom and respect for intellectual quest the past cannot be preserved, and cultural, historical memory cannot exist.

* * *

What is the most difficult and most dangerous thing on the road of restructuring today? Here I would like to stress two aspects in particular.

The first ones are the extremes. History has proven several times how easily they unite in complicated conditions, in revolutionary moments that decide that fate of nations. It has also been seen how easily and simply one type of extreme can make use of other extremes. If, the in light of the conditions that have come into being in our society, restructuring is, in particular, the struggle against any phenomena of conservatism, then no less so does it tolerate constant haste, leftism, or the skipping of stages.

The second thing that must be recognized as a problem and danger lying in wait for us is expecting a miracle, a godsent gift; the naive belief that someone saying "restructuring" and clapping his hands three times will be able to chase out lots of bureacrats and thieves and that everything will run by itself; that a fairy godmother will turn up from somewhere—from above, from Moscow, or somewhere else—and solve all our problems.

Work and more work. This and only this is the yardstick of restructuring, the yardstick of socialism. A lot has been accomplished in 3 years. A new spiritual atmosphere has been created in the country. People have acquired a new social feeling. The horizons of social awareness have broadened in an unprecedent way. We have recorded a tangible increase in housing construction and in the construction of sociocultural facilities. Economic and financial recovery has begun. New political thinking and corresponding actions prevail in foreign policy. Profound changes and the restructuring of the political system and the party are under way.

We have started many things. The further complication, the specific aspect of our situation is, moreover, the fact that we must work in many directions at the same time, keep in mind the interconnection between the economy, politics, ideology, social processes, and intellectual life.

At the same time, one also has to resolve problems in international relations which we have inherited from the past: the feverish arms buildup which was forced upon us, among other things, with the aim of exhausting us economically and depicting socialism as a "threat" to the world; the regional conflicts and the inertia of confrontational relations. Overcoming all that is a step toward all-human, that is, socialist ideals. All this helps to orient the potential of socialism as much as possible toward creative objectives, thus opening new horizons of progress.

These are the resources, elementary causes, and points of social orientation of restructuring. With restructuring the integral connection between the internal and the international is being revealed with particular force. And precisely because of this, restructuring is not an export article and cannot be mechanically copied. Restructuring means the greatest possible attention to specific issues and tasks, to specific conditions, objectives, and priorities on the basis of collective experience and on the basis of the responsibility of each party and state to, above all, their own people.

We are convinced of the correctness of the chosen path. We are sure of our strength. We know that we proceed from life, that we are marching toward the ideals and values created by civilization and adopted by socialism: toward the ideals of freedom and prosperity of the working man.

Yakovlev Interviewed by Czechoslovak Media

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[Interview given by Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to representatives of CSSR media in Prague on 15 November]

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Tuesday [15 November] gave an interview to Zdenek Horeni, RUDE PRAVO chief editor; Drahos Lustig, CTK deputy central director; Dusan Machacek, chief editor of the central editorial office of the Television News department of the Czechoslovak Television; and Bohumil Horak, chief editor of the Czechoslovak Radio's Main Editorial Office for International Affair.

[Question] Comrade Yakovlev, one of the results of your working visit to the CSSR was the signing of the program for ideological cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU. In what, in your opinion, does the new quality of the two sides' cooperation in this important sphere consist, and what will this cooperation yield in the ideological sphere of relations among the people?

[Yakovlev] I would assess this agreement on ideological questions least of all as a formal expression of relations between the two sides. I would rather assess it as the beginning of a qualitatively new stage of relations in this sphere, especially in culture, and the exchange of information, but not only in those two.

Why did I formulate it like that? It is because such extensive, sharp, unexpected, and important changes are currently taking place in the world that it is necessary to consider everything thoroughly from the viewpoint of philosophy, economics, and forecasting the future. We have mastered the technique of social diagnosis to a fair degree of late. We understand what is happening. But as regards looking forward, undertaking serious forecasting of the future, that still lies ahead of us. Precisely now, when such rapid and significant changes have been occurring—not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Czechoslovakia—we must find answers to these urgent questions also in the sphere of ideological cooperation. What sort of answers are they, and in what lies their urgency? The important thing is that our relations are the most extensive and most intensive relations among the people; that people are in contact with one another, provide information to one another, talk about culture; that they better understand one another; that they comprehend all aspects of history, politics; and that they comprehend the good as well as the bad, the heroic as well as the tragic. Only then will the people be fully understood, and their history, and their hopes for the future. And the main thing: there will be a more accurate social appreciation of what a person has to do, what he has to choose for himself in the contemporary world. Because today it can no longer be said that someone else chooses for a person. The people themselves are doing the choosing.

This, obviously, will be the case in the years to come. And from that point of view this is a program that draws people close together and therefore they regard it as very topical.

In recent years I have noticed that agreements have begun to be implemented. Such agreements used to be concluded in the past too, but once they were concluded, those who signed them shook hands and departed. The fact that agreements are now actually being implemented means that there is interest in them, that people's concrete interests are behind them. And this, apparently, is the most important thing. If we succeed in making people interested in them, everything will be all right. The objective of the planned actions is the understanding among the people.

[Question] You were the chairman of the commission for the preparation of the resolution on the flow of information to the public at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. How are its principles being implemented in the work of the party and state bodies, and to what extent do they influence the deepening of their cooperation with the media? After all, it is not only the journalists, but also the party and state bodies, who are responsible for the flow of information to the public.

[Yakovlev] To begin with, I would say that the flow of information to the public is not the result of the resolution, but rather the resolution of that conference is the result of the flow of information that has begun in the country. At that conference the party set that path as its political will, as the direction for the activity of all party organizations.

You journalists know that informing the public is not a simple matter, because information is a sharp weapon, and that—for various reasons and in various spheres—it is not always welcomed with applause. One part, above all the working people, welcome it because they want to know more about what is going on in the country. To those who are responsible for certain spheres and, especially, if they work badly, the flow of information to the public is not to their liking. It shows who is who, who works how, how a person bears his responsibility for this or that, how a person reacts to the needs of the people, to their questions. It is understandable that the flow of information to the public does not bring anything good to such poor performers.

Regarding the flow of information to the public in the mass media, you are certainly aware that there has been a lot of discussion and dispute in our country. However, it is my opinion that our media have carried out a thorough cleansing operation. We can say that this could only be achieved with the party's support. You know, Comrade Gorbachev spared no time and frequently met with high-level media representatives to exchange views. All those meetings were marked by an intense comradely atmosphere, and the concept of the flow of information to the public was always one of the things discussed.

You are right in that sometimes also in our country the flow of information to the public is thought of as being the job of the mass media. That, however, is a very narrow interpretation. After all, when this idea was submitted both to the April plenary session and to the 27th CPSU Congress as a political principle, what was mainly involved was that all party and social organizations and state bodies would work in accordance with the principle of the public being informed. That everyone would be informed about their work, that nothing would be hidden from the people. Also from this point of view the flow of information to the public was not welcomed with applause by everyone. This was so because many things have accumulated in the activity of party organizations, soviets, state bodies, and even social organizations that some people did not want submit for public discussion and to public scrutiny.

The flow of information to the public has become one of the very active forms of the struggle against bureaucracy, against bureaucratic methods, and against corruption and misuse of power, that is, against those negative phenomena which we describe as petty bourgeoism.

I think that everything is proceeding normally now. Newspapers do not only criticize shortcomings, they also do important creative work. One has to create a new society with new political institutions, with new economic activity and, if you like, also with a new role of the mass media in socialist society.

In the same way that we criticize everything, we also criticize the mass media. Our opinion is that in society there should not be areas that are impervious to criticism. This also applies to the media. That criticism mostly concentrates on issues of truthfulness. And I think that all honest journalists support such a stance. They must be ethical and have a profound knowledge, they must be competent. They must realize that if they sit in judgement over something today, they must be perfectly acquainted with the subject, because their standpoint will be adopted by tens of millions of people tomorrow. People have gotten used to believing the word of a journalist, and that is an obligation that must be kept.

[Question] In connection with the flow of information to the public some people have expressed the view that the various one-sided, unseasoned views and emotions, which we come across from time to time, are the inevitable price that has to be paid in the course of the pursuit of informing the public. Do you think that it would be possible to avoid paying that price?

[Yakovlev] In the first place, what does one actually mean by emotions, explosions of emotions, various inaccuracies. Personally, this question does not bother me too much. I have never thought that emotions could be some sort of price to pay for the public being informed. I repeat, in my view, the only thing we must not permit are factual inaccuracies. It is up to the journalist to interpret a particular issue. It is a matter of his competence and professionalism, and people themselves can decide what is correct and what is not. I have never felt the need to protest against this, I have had no objections. In the end, if someone thinks that an article was not written correctly, let him submit his own piece for publication, give him the chance to say what he disagrees with and what, in his view, is wrong. This is an absolutely correct approach.

I think I said this already 2 years ago, and I can now repeat the thesis that as long as newspapers and periodicals suppress differing views, this is very undemocratic. The development of democracy envisages that there will also be room for different views. And, by the way, the resolution on the flow of information to the public says very clearly that the press has a duty to publish differing views. It happens, for example, that a press organ asserts its line. Well, why not? It is good that it holds such a view, that it has its own standpoint, conviction, that it implements its standpoint. However, what position should be adopted toward those who disagree? When you invoke democracy, the flow of information to the public, then you should also publish different opinions, whether you like them or not. That would be democratic, that would be honest toward the people. We must go through this school of democracy, we must master the art of discussion precisely by holding discussions in which opinions clash.

Regarding that price, I do not agree that everything must always be paid for. And I also do not think that our mass media would commit mistakes that would really affect society.

I repeat, we cannot permit factual errors, deformation of reality, or insults to human dignity. It happens that I sometimes write letters of apology, but that is no solution. When someone says something bad about another person, when a person is slandered in a printrun of 15 million copies, it is not enough for him to receive an apology in one letter only. That is not right. As Mikhail Gorbachev has said on several occasions, we react very strongly when human dignity is humiliated. Restructuring demands respect for the people. We have said more than once that restructuring is, among other things, the struggle for human dignity. And the press has a duty to observe that principle, the principle of respect for man. Even if one writes negatively about a person and the author is in possession of evidence and is convinced about what he writes, he must not insult the other person's dignity.

I would answer this question as follows: There is essentially no price involved. Journalism is journalism, it fulfills its function. In the first stage, as I have already said, is does a good work. And the further we progress, the greater the impact this work has. Do mistakes occur? Yes, they do. Will they continue to occur? I do not know; obviously they will.

[Question] At the CPSU Central Committee plenary session in September you became chairman of the CPSU Central Committee's commission for international policy. How do you assess the results of the recent presidential elections in the United States, the further prospects for Soviet - American relations, and how realistic is the hope of achieving an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons? What are the prospects for a USSR - U.S. summit? We are asking you as a man who has devoted 30 years to America and its problems, and whose book "From Truman to Reagan" was published in Czechoslovakia a year ago?

[Yakovlev] Since the elections are over, the assessment of the results is not important. Before the elections we did, and we do also now, stress that we are, in principle, ready to negotiate with any U.S. Government, be it Democratic or Republican. All the more so since our experience shows that there is no particular difference between them. As you know, our relations with the previous government were very bad. No matter how paradoxical it might seem, we have found—especially of late—a common language with the Republican government, and achieved an important agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

We are convinced that—in essence—this process will continue. For our part we can definitely say that we will continue the line oriented toward the further improvement of relations, that we will also most constructively seek a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons. We have reason to believe that the Americans, too, will follow this road. After all, all this time talks have been conducted on the diplomatic level, and we do not criticize the results of these talks. To put it concisely: everything proceeds normally. But, of course, there also used be times which were not particularly productive.

I think that all the conditions exist today to assume that this process will strengthen and become activated. Nowadays one really has begun talking about greater activity being possible. In foreign policy, especially in our dynamic times, there is no need to reject anything. And if one succeeds in holding a summit meeting, this would be useful especially today, and would help to add greater dynamism to the entire process and achieve some practical results very soon, whether on the issue of the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons, chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional armament in Europe, or regional problems. All these things have to be solved. The sooner one succeeds in that the better for everyone. I think that the American leadership understands that too. Our policy is very precise, clear, and we make no secret of it.

[Question] I would like to draw your attention to European affairs. In Prague Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the interesting idea of a common European home. Of late interesting proposals are being formulated, which contribute to the creation of the common European home. What is your opinion of the proposal submitted by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, last February? What place does this proposal have in European politics? How do you assess the other Czechoslovak initiatives, for example the joint proposal with the GDR on establishing a zone without chemical and nuclear weapons in central Europe?

[Yakovlev] How do we understand this problem and, especially, the idea of a common European home? Work on building it started with the Helsinki process, when the European countries comprehended that one could no longer live in the old way, that the situation could culminate in serious consequences, including military consequences. In no other part of the world is there such a concentration of troops and weapons as there is in Europe. This has even given rise to reflections on the irrationality of this situation. For some reason Europe has decided to arm without exactly knowing who is getting ready to fight whom, and who has what interests and claims on neighboring states.

This process continued in Stockholm, Madrid, and Belgrade. All that time Europe was searching for common language. All these consultations and conferences were, naturally, accompanied by various initiatives: on zones without nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean, in northern and central Europe. I think that proposals such as the one to establish zones of trust and good neighborliness make profound sense.

For, if one says that the Europeans are afraid of the Soviet military threat, or a threat originating from the Warsaw Pact countries, then we can say equally convincingly that we do not regard the West as some sort of Santa Claus, who only puts toys under our Christmas tree. Thus, you see, we are sitting in the same boat.

Nevertheless, mutual understanding is growing. If we succeeded in establishing zones without nuclear and chemical weapons, zones of cooperation, and maybe even economic zones, all that would help to destroy the stereotype of the military threat. And when the Europeans finally comprehend that they must devote themselves to their own worries, to their own home, and properly "sweep it clear" of weapons they will acquire a different character, different psychology, and different views of one another.

As you can see, this process is a complex one, and these problems cannot be resolved immediately. But I think that together with all socialist countries in Europe we are making a great effort in this constructive, creative direction. And I think that all the socialist countries' proposals aim at this common, peaceful European home, in which one has to exchange weapons for trust among people.

[Question] At the ideological aktiv [in Prague on 15 November] you spoke about the common principles of restructuring in the socialist countries. What unused possibilities, in your opinion, are there in respect of informing one another about the political and economic processes in the socialist countries?

[Yakovlev] My opinion is that it is you, in the mass media, who account for the lion's share of those unused possibilities. One has to strive for a situation in which the necessary information is not carried around in one's pocket, but appears in the pages of the press, on television and radio programs. I think that our journalists should be more active in providing information about the situation in other countries. It seems to me that we really have too many unused opportunities. We write about life only formally, in a protocol sort of way, or—to express it more accurately—superficially. We write and read. But you will never get to read what is interesting everywhere, in your country, in our country, with our neighbors. For example, we may report that an aktiv was held in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, or in Hungary. That is okay. But people do not always read it, it is not always interesting. But what new phenomena have appeared in the life of a given country? Here, in my view, we have very serious shortcomings.

I arrived to Czechoslovakia from Hungary. There I was invited to pay a visit to a certain shareholding company. Its business is to seek trading partners, to help others. It resolves new tasks: it provides, in particular, advice; processes data with computers; and works out programs for ensuring the material base for various social, industrial, and technical projects. It is a very profitable enterprise, although it does not produce many material values. If you like, its business is compiling and selling information. This is very useful, this is a view of the future. The chairman of that company told me precisely at the time of my visit that they were looking for a partner for a Soviet customer to sell a small-series product in which the state was not interested.

And this Hungarian company will help, it will find a buyer. It has a data bank for doing that.

And thus I asked: Can I read about this anywhere in the Soviet press? And it transpired that I could not. I present this as an example, but one could find quite a few such examples.

I think that in this respect the role of journalism is a big one. This is true especially now when there is talk about a new stage in relations among the socialist countries, about economic cooperation, integration, economic partnership, and joint ventures. There exist individual articles which explain the mechanisms of such relations. However, the approach is still too general. It is reported that an agreement was concluded, but not what the agreement is about, what the interests of the individual participants are, what it means for tomorrow, how relations among people who work in these enterprises will develop, what human dimension this agreement has. This has been lacking so far.

[Question] Preparations for a roundtable session of European leftist forces have been discussed for quite some time now. What is the current situation in that respect, and what are the prospects for such a meeting in general?

[Yakovlev] As far as we are concerned, we welcome this. We would be very glad if everyone were to apply himself to it with practical initiative. We would take part with pleasure. One can say, as far as we know, that this is being discussed, that meetings are being held, and that working groups have been meeting. And that is a good thing. If you are interested in my personal opinion: I am against unnecessary haste, against rash meetings, against lectures and publishing speeches and writing articles about the usefulness of such action. In the end this, too, will be done. But we should not hurry the period of mutual discussion and consultation, of clarifying standpoints, so that some can rid themselves of euphoria and others of concerns, so that we can find a common base for seeking roads, for questions, and problems that have accumulated. Certain stereotypes have been eliminated, some reproaches have disappeared.

When we are talking about a forum of leftist forces, I am not—to be frank—absolutely convinced that we should put too much stress on whether a party is leftist or not. What if it expresses interest in participating and one of our professors does not regard it as being leftist, although it wants to fight for peace, defend the idea of the common European home, universal security, and so forth? All right then, let us seek a common language on that base. But the purpose of the roundtable is not to form a certain type of association; the important thing is to make progress in realizing the idea of the common European home, in the struggle against an arms buildup, in the effort to create a world—and even more so, a Europe—without violence and without nuclear weapons. On that base, in my opinion, we will find many people, many parties, groups, and associations which will agree with these principles. We are of the opinion that the process of consultation should continue. We do not need it simply as a token gesture, but in the interest of the cause.

[Journalists] We thank you for the interview.

Speaks on Restructuring

AU1811142588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 88 p 9

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Peter Vajda and Istvan Zalai: "Restructuring Is for People"—date, place not given]

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, who has been heading the CPSU Central Committee's working committee in charge of foreign affairs since the end of September of this year, gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union, the international reaction to this process, and on Hungarian-Soviet relations. The well-known Soviet politician arrived in Hungary on 9 November at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, and within his extremely busy schedule, he found the time to answer our correspondents' questions.

[Question] How can you sum up the achievements of restructuring so far?

[Yakovlev] Already we have practical experiences about restructuring. We can talk about initial results. Unfortunately, we can also talk about mistakes, as we did not carry out certain measures effectively enough and in time. Today, we are talking about restructuring as the renewal of the Leninist approach to the Leninist theory and practice of socialism. By implementing the restructuring of both the people's thinking and everyday activity, we are defeating the consequences of the worst type of revisionism, namely the revisionism of dead dogmas which became intertwined with bureaucracy, concepts of prestige, and with various forms of impersonal and alienated coercive measures.

Today, we see quite clearly that for us to achieve social progress it is imperative that the people's individual efforts and personal responsibility and ability be coupled with social conditions that encourage the progress of socialist civilization. Viewed from a theoretical aspect, this is one of the pillars of communist teaching. However, each and every new generation should solve this task for itself by considering the changing conditions and the given level of self-awareness of the society and of the individuals.

[Question] What is the role of ideological work in this process? What is the importance of the need for recognition to serve as the basis for new actions?

[Yakovlev] Occasionally one can hear that there is no need for a theoretical discovery activity today in order to build a socialist society. Thus, they say, it is enough if we are governed by the conclusions of our predecessors, and we can make practical decisions based on these conclusions. Thus, things advance almost automatically, and socialist ideals take shape in the harmony between theory and practice.

But history is cruel. History objectively rejects decisions that are based solely on subjective desires, even if these originate from noble goals. Thus, for example, a series of rational decisions were made in the last 30 years, decisions that were quite progressive at the time. However, today, these decisions are valuable only for the archives. Such decisions were also made in Khruschev's and Brezhnev's times. During this time, practically two generations of party, state, and economic leaders followed each other, and their overwhelming majority were honest communists and good professionals. Despite this, the negative economic and social processes continued to deepen and accumulate.

It is, therefore, justified to ask whether, in view of our experiences so far, we have the right to place all the blame on subjective factors for past and present difficulties, failures, and problems, or to blame someone's unpreparedness or bad intentions for all this? Or maybe we should draw the other conclusion, namely that the present situation is the result of an accumulation of subjective events and objective causes, including factors that previously we did not see and did not consider in their entirety. If we declared that Marxism-Leninism had already spoken the last word on every issue and we are talking now only about practical tasks, we would turn Marxism into a caricature. We would condemn the practice, and eventually the theory itself to defeat, and would deprive socialism of the most important thing: development.

Of course, socialist renewal does not mean that we will throw away everything old—past evaluations, concepts, conclusions, forms of activity, and working methods—and work out something completely new to replace all these. The process of recreation is not an end in itself in restructuring. Such recreation is necessary only to the extent demanded by the changing conditions of socialist construction. Beside this, anything new is inconceivable without heritage.

Now, when stepping into the 4th year of restructuring and beginning to find our ways in matters of present and past and in their mutual interdependence, only now are we beginning to really understand and realize certain things. Now that dogmatism and scholasticism are losing their sacredness, we realize just how basically Stalin had revised Leninism in the early thirties, and how this revised Leninism spread like wildfire in the period immediately following this revision, and survived almost to the present.

[Question] How can we sum up the essence of Stalin's revision of Leninism you have mentioned?

[Yakovlev] I would like to mention now only a few basic aspects of this revision. The essence of this revision lies in the fact that new things are introduced in all areas of life and in all aspects of political and party work by force. In other words, forms emerged that bred orders, administrative methods, and organizational structures that promoted such methods.

Thus, democracy was replaced by a policy directly deriving from the concept of a constant increase in class struggle. Socialist economic relations, the socialist market, and the creation of associations of free producers were replaced by something else: nationalization and forced collectivization. Orders, bureaucracy, formalism, and oppression replaced political activity, the appeal to the people's minds and feelings, and the encouragement of their independence and entrepreneurial spirit.

All this was given a "theoretical" garb by means of activities that were presented as the culmination of wisdom, and resulted in the physical elimination of the cream of the party's thinkers and of social science.

This delusion lasted a long time: half a century. We are still paying the price. In many respects, we will continue to pay the price tomorrow and the day after. In other words, the consequences are serious, they have also affected the pillars of our society and several generations of Soviet people.

We have begun to free ourselves from this delusion and its consequences, and have begun to return to the decisive sources of Leninist thinking, socialist ideals and values, overall human morality, and humanism. Here lies the major idea of restructuring, and the result of its irreversible spirituality. Only this can determine its deserved place in mankind's struggle for progress and social liberation, in the struggle for a humane man.

Restructuring has also given something else to Soviet society: the atmosphere of democracy, glasnost, free thinking, and creation. Real creation and progress are only possible in such an atmosphere. Of course, it is not easy to rid ourselves of the heavy burden of the past, and I mean here apathy, lack of thinking, and even the social impunity of human laziness. It is impossible to change and historically restore in a few years everything that developed over centuries, and we also have a negative historical heritage, including Stalin, Ivan the Terrible, Genghis Khan, and the Byzantine Empire.... The wide-scale social debate currently under way in Soviet society is one of the achievements of restructuring and also a factor of its development and productivity. The focus of this debate is how to achieve the goals of restructuring and what are the relations and mutual contacts between these goals and the accustomed methods and forms, which are currently in a state of crisis. Everything that has emerged as a summary of these debates is not some sort of extremism and not some extreme swinging point of the pendulum, but an effort to apply the best methods and means to ensure a concrete final result. Its educating and noble character, and the democratic review of society's experiences are also part of the experiences of this debate. That is why we compare restructuring with great October and call it a revolutionary breakthrough. A complete recognition of the size and complexity of the real tasks, rather than rhetoric or the usual adherence to superlatives, is behind this comparison.

[Question] What is needed for such a realistic way of seeing things?

[Yakovlev] Realism requires at least two things. First, clear recognition of all the difficulties that hinder restructuring. Second, both the party and the people should have a clear and understandable action program from both the strategic and tactical viewpoints.

It would be naive to think that it is enough to work out and accept the general strategy of restructuring and that problems will begin to solve themselves. Nothing can be further from the truth, and the first years of restructuring have fully convinced us of this.

Restructuring affects the most varied interests of people, working collectives, social groups, and social strata. Opposition to restructuring can be very different in nature, it can derive from the power of domestic inability, from the complexity of the transformation of human psychology, or from other sources, including deliberate opposition to restructuring.

[Question] What is the social basis of this opposition? We could also put it differently: Are there many Nina Andreyevas in the Soviet Union?

[Yakovlev] I will not narrow this issue down to some personal level because this would extremely simplify the problem. It would be very easy to count them, one, two, three, four, five, and so on, people who oppose restructuring. Obviously you have also noticed that, in its article in response to the aforementioned SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA columnist, PRAVDA did not even mention Nina Andreyeva by name, and her name emerged only later. I repeat, connecting things with names would simplify this problem, which is very serious.

Is this opposition justified? My answer to this question is that there is no movement without opposition. This is valid not only in nature, but also in the case of social movements, because a great many customs, views, and real interests inevitably emerge during the process of shifting to the new qualities. If economic interests are expressed consciously, adherence to old habits is not always conscious, and not necessarily ill-intentioned.

Restructuring does not simply divide people onto this side and the other side. In reality, each and every person should struggle with the contradictions within himself: He is still carrying the past while he honestly intends to decide his view of the present and the future. Therefore, except for the idle and the thieves, I do not feel entitled to blame anyone. I do not have great aversion to people who stick to their positions, even if I do not agree with them, provided, of course, that there are no selfish interests behind these positions. I think these people are honest. Of course, it is another matter when some sort of ideological position or alleged adherence to ideals simply serve to hide personal ambitions. I am very shocked when someone preaches about violation of ideas and moral deterioration, but when you look a bit deeper into the matter, you can see under the surface very real selfish and individual interests and the insatiable efforts of lackeys and careerists. I am saying all this because the issue is complex as a whole and cannot be simplified, and when someone tries to simply link this issue with names, for me this means that he is not really striving to deeply learn the truth.

Of course, we should eliminate extremism, the most dangerous factor for restructuring and for the normal life of society, from the complex spectrum of social moods, relations, and reactions. This extremism is dangerous precisely because of its demagogy, selfish ambitions, and its demonstrative confrontation with society's interests. Extremism is not only the carrier of anarchy, disregard for the law and democracy, and violation of other people's legal rights, freedom, and interests, but is also a means that can always be used by conservatism and by the reaction.

Restructuring demands great responsibility and a clear political position. Restructuring does have such a platform. The task of the current period is to constantly strive to implement this program, and to see to it that, if there is no other choice, opposition is at least asserted through normal human relations and in the framework of our constitutional state. Without such a platform of restructuring, we would be threatened with shortsighted improvisation.

[Question] We have discussed so far the processes and changes underway in the Soviet Union. How do you evaluate the effect of restructuring on international life, primarily on world socialism?

[Yakovlev] It would be a mistake to regard the international importance of restructuring as some sort of appeal to others to immediately follow our experiences and to copy the forms, recipes, and means that emerge during the process of restructuring. Of course, we feel honored when fraternal parties and countries share our approach and they intend to implement this approach in their countries too. But one cannot stop here. World socialism is indeed currently at the beginning of deep renewal, and is striving to overcome the crisis phenomena. We are convinced that this is precisely the general aspect that is characteristic of socialism as a whole and which provides a basis for the socialist countries' endeavors for unity. What we have in common lies in the heart of this renewal. Of course, alongside the things we have in common, there are also quite a few differences.

[Question] Obviously, these differences also explain the different reactions to the restructuring process in the individual socialist countries. What do you think about this?

[Yakovlev] I consider this to be quite normal. If we say that every country has the right to choose its own way, to apply its own solutions, and create its independent opinions, it logically follows that it is also possible to have different evaluations of another country's actions and policy. I do not find anything bad, special, or threatening in this. This is only normal.

Today, we are more clearly aware of, and understand this variety of opinions better. We have also recognized the importance of this variety. Besides, this is one of the important international aspects of the process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union. The fraternal cooperation between our parties and countries is no longer characterized by transplanting methods used in one country into another, but by making sure that each country is working efficiently, independently, and responsibly, is aware of the others' experiences and, having carefully analyzed them, applies these experiences if rationality and necessity so require.

[Question] Allow me two questions in this connection. What characterizes the CPSU's relations today with the other parties and trends of the communist and workers movement? In view of the accumulated experiences, what is the meaning of unity today?

[Yakovlev] As for the CPSU's relations with other parties, in my view, equality is the keyword of these relations. Our opinion about these relations is that we welcome every search that leads to the strengthening of the positions of progressive and left-wing movements, of the progressive forces and communist parties in a given society, among the masses. Of course, I am not thinking here of an artificial search for a way, but of an organic process carried out by means of a careful analysis of social reality and an analysis of forces and contradictions in a given society, in a way that life itself represents the starting point.

As for the second part of your question which refers to the new unity of world socialism, this unity should develop on new basis today, on a qualitatively higher level. Besides, this requirement is also true of the unity of nations themselves. We are talking here about a unity of fundamental interests, ideas, and long-term endeavors, and not about the similarity of some methods and intermediate stages. We are talking about the spiritual roots of this unity, and not about a mechanical re-creation of this unity. We are thinking in terms of a unity that not only allows, but also requires and demands respect for the individual special characteristics and dignity of all members of the socialist community.

This is also true of our bilateral relations. Our relations should be all the more free of formalism and should be characterized by complete equality, non-interference, and recognition of the fact that every party is responsible to its own nation, while there is also a common responsibility for the fate of socialism, as well as mutual comradely solidarity and support.

[Question] In connection with this, what is the interdependence between Soviet restructuring and Hungarian renewal? Can we say that these processes reinforce each other?

[Yakovlev] They are advancing on the same road, albeit under different conditions, and their methods can also differ. However, taken as a whole, their direction is basically the same, namely, to make socialism more viable, and I would add here, more competitive, and, in practical terms, more effective socially. Talking about common principles, we have a lot of similar things in our countries. As for the methods, well, in my opinion, the more varied the methods we have, the richer we become.

Besides, we probably need the greatest restructuring in our economic relations. We must shift from the extensive methods whose time has passed, to basically intensive methods, while we have no intention of giving up the results that have long represented a stabilization factor in the development of mutually advantageous relations between our people's economies.

It is essential for our economic relations to create new mechanisms aimed at ensuring scientific-technological progress and the fulfillment and acceleration of qualitative requirements. A socialist market, convertible currencies, and direct contacts between production units based on financial interest, all this will replace the current natural exchange of goods, which represents a force of regression. Today we both understand the need for such changes. This also applies to recognition of the fact that the creation of a new harmony between economic interests is a very complex task which cannot be carried out without conflicts. We need common political will, mutual understanding, and awareness of an interest in each other's success, in order to solve these tasks. Wide-scale social relations, and the contacts between the two countries' young people should be free of formalism and should be natural. Many people can play a role in this, including the Hungarians living beyond the Carpathians, and the Soviet citizens who live in Hungary.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates the support provided by fraternal Hungary for its foreign policy line, because Hungary traditionally has great prestige in the international arena. We highly appreciate all the support deriving from the coordination of our opinions, our exchanges of information with the Hungarian comrades, and the coordination of our foreign policy steps. We are united in understanding that there is need for a radical renewal of cooperation between socialist countries. We have similar views on how we should further develop the Warsaw Pact organization and reorganize CEMA.

Our common interest in preserving peace and human civilization, with which the fate of the cause of socialism is closely linked, is the basis of our foreign policy cooperation. The positions of the socialist countries has always strengthened when they worked out a uniform stand on the basis of consideration of multilateral interests, and when they correctly understood the dialectic indivisibility between national and international interests. Mistakes in this area have always weakened these countries. Coordination of foreign policy activities requires the initiatives of all the socialist countries; thus, every socialist country can contribute to the maximum to the joint struggle for peace and security. We welcome all the foreign policy initiatives of the Hungarian People's Republic; these initiatives contribute to our common cause.

[Question] Obviously, you have dealt with all these, and other issues of bilateral relations during your current talks with the heads of the MSZMP in Budapest. How do you evaluate these talks?

[Yakovlev] We have exchanged views on a series of different issues with the MSZMP leaders: on domestic development and on various areas of cooperation. We have informed each other about the processes underway in our countries, about restructuring in the Soviet Union, about how far we have come on the road of restructuring, what difficulties we have encountered, and about the things we want to do.

Comrade Grosz spoke quite frankly about the current activity of your party, and about the future plans recently outlined in your country. There are issues and problems in our bilateral relations which must be dealt with, and of course, there are also further sources of cooperation. The issue is often not so much the principled agreement in one matter or another. It is simply the practical organization of things. We have a lot to think about in this area. As a period of renewal is currently underway in both countries, a period of searching for new ways and approaches, this search is also taking place in the aforementioned direction. The point here is not only to rid ourselves of everything that was negative in the past, but also to strengthen and further develop all the positive things we have accumulated. In this respect, I find it quite interesting the way Comrade Grosz has raised the issue when saying that it is possible and necessary to strengthen our cooperation, and that the emerging concepts should not get lost in the sink of bureaucracy but should be based on the firm pillars of the enterprises' concrete interests.

[Question] During your current visit, you also repeatedly spoke about the fact that restructuring is inseparable from the new political thinking. Approaching the end of 1988, what do you regard as the first real result of this new political thinking?

[Yakovlev] The current year, which is approaching its end, has been characterized by international developments of principled importance. First of all, a process of practical disarmament has begun; we should strengthen this process so that it becomes a catalyst in shaping civilized interstate relations. We must stress here that this new political mentality is indeed a new thinking, and not a reflex-like manifestation of century-old habits and current stereotypes. Now, when we can already see the first signs of a favorable development in international affairs, we should not stop in facing the world with new initiatives dictated by this new political thinking. Comrade Gorbachev said that world politics no longer has only the task to guarantee the survival of mankind, but today opportunities also arise to jointly consider—by respecting the free choice and the balance of interests—the establishment of a world free of nuclear weapons and of violence.

Let me add that we, in renewing socialism, are ready to participate in this activity.

'First Volume' of CPSU Conference Speeches

LD2611055888 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Political literature publishers, acting on a decision of the secretariat of the 19th national party conference, has brought out the first volume of the proceedings of the conference, which took place in Moscow on June 28 through July 1, 1988.

The book includes the report at the conference by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, on the progress of work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th party congress and the tasks of furthering the perestroyka reform drive, speeches by delegates and other records of the party forum.

Cut in Militia Presence at Institutions Urged

PM2511164988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Major General L. Popov, chief of the USSR MVD Interdepartmental Protection Main Administration, under the rubric "We Report the Details": "At the Front Entrance"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] On 20 November our newspaper carried under the headline "Stop, Who Goes There?!" a feature on militia protection at Moscow University. Major General L. Popov, chief of the USSR MVD Interdepartmental Protection Main Administration, continues the discussion of this topic:

With every passing day our administration's militiamen increasingly rarely have to fulfill checkpoint sentry functions, inspecting the documents of everyone entering.

Apart from the fact that such control is unpleasant and offensive to both the checker and the checked, it is not rational either.

We have been suggesting to Academician A. Logunov, rector of Moscow University, that the militiamen employed to protect the university be replaced by a technical control system—an alarm system with whose help we have long been successfully protecting savings banks, jewelry stores, warehouses.... But the rector has always refused, although the university loses approximately R200,000 a year in wages for militiamen.

Until 1952 there were approximately 3 million watchmen in our country. There are far fewer of them now. However, the reduction in protection certainly does not mean that we are making life easier for criminals. On the contrary, the standard and quality of our technical equipment have increased to such a degree that we are now thinking of ensuring the protection of banks without the immediate presence of a militiaman in the bank building. The saving is tremendous. Compare—the hourly pay of a watchman is 72 kopeks, while our system costs just 15 kopeks an hour.

Our USSR MVD administration will soon have to take all enterprises, establishments, and organizations under its wing. This is a great and serious matter. Many organizations are meeting us halfway in this work. The USSR Finance Ministry has entirely done away with militia posts at the entrance. Three months ago we concluded a contract with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations to include the institute's laboratories in our alarm system and to reduce the rates for militiamen and watchmen.

Many leaders place militiamen in their organizations' entrances more for prestige than for any real purpose. I am convinced that a militiaman at the entrance to a ministry, to trade union oblast committees, to a newspaper editorial office, or to a university attests not to the importance and imposingness of these establishments, but just to an inability to work with people, with visitors. A janitor is adequate for this. Our administration uses other means to ensure the protection of socialist property.

Georgian Government Suspends Power Project

LD2511024688 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Tbilisi November 24 TASS—Work to build Khydonigas, one of the largest hydroelectric power stations in Georgia erected in the canyon of the Inguri River, was suspended by the decision of the Georgian Government.

Georgian scientists and students voiced doubt as regards the perfection of the project and the expediency of building the station, which can have adverse ecological consequences in the region.

"Public opinion becomes an increasingly decisive factor today in handling some or other issues of political and economic life in the republic", Otar Cherkeziya, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Georgia, told TASS. "Although there is a shortage of electricity in the republic now, which is covered by supplies from other republics, we nevertheless took this step. There can be no economic rewards if there is no regard for ecological development. Certainly, the interests of the station's building workers were not forgotten. They were sent to other construction sites".

The prime minister noted that the government of the republic formed a special commission composed of nine working groups to study the impact of hydroelectric power facilities on the climate, the quality of water, animal and plant life, soil and hydro-geological situation. The work to erect the station will not resume until the commission finalises its work and its decisions are discussed by all residents of the republic.

N. Osetian Obkom Elects New First Secretary

LD2611171788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] In Ordzhonikidze today a plenum of the North Osetian Obkom considered an organizational matter.

The plenum relieved Comrade Odintsov of his duties as the obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

Comrade Dzasokhov, who previously worked as the USSR's Ambassador Extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the Syrian Arab Republic, was elected obkom first secretary.

The plenum was attended by Comrade Razumov, first deputy head of party construction and personnel work in the CPSU Central Committee [name and title as heard].

Obituary for Former RSFSR Culture Minister

PM2411151788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Nikolay Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov]

[Excerpts] Nikolay Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, member of the CPSU and individual union pensioner, died 19 November 1988 in his 67th year.

N.A. Kuznetsov was born into a working-class family in Moscow City 3 August 1922. [passage omitted]

From 1965 through 1974 he was RSFSR minister of culture. [passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, A.V. Vlasov, A.S. Kapto, Yu.P. Voronov, V.G. Zakharov, V.T. Saykin, Ye.M. Chekharin, Yu.S. Melentyev, I.B. Bugayev, Yu.S. Karabasov, V.V. Kochetkov, A.S. Oreshkina, Yu.A. Prokofyev, P.P. Khilkevich, A.I. Shkurko.

Economic

Economic Expert on Restructuring, Democracy

AU2811155588 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 28 Nov 88 p 6

[Thomas Urban article: "Success of Restructuring Depends on Agriculture"]

[Text] Munich, 27 November—According to Professor Vyacheslav Dashichev from Moscow, the Soviet leadership first underestimated the importance of agriculture for the reform program. During a panel discussion, which was organized by the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, Vyacheslav Dashichev, chief of the Foreign Policy Department of the Moscow Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, criticized the fact that even 3 years after the introduction of restructuring by General Secretary Gorbachev the population has hardly seen any material results. In the long run, however, restructuring will only succeed if it is supported by the population, he stated in a sober manner, without the slightest touch of euphoria.

In reply to questions by writer Horst Bienek, who has repeatedly dealt with Eastern Europe in his works, and Martin Broszats, director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, Dashichev explained that a period of 20 to 25 years will be needed for the successful restructuring of the economy. By this time the consequences of the "command methods," which were applied erroneously for nearly 7 decades, will probably be overcome.

Dashichev's reference to the democratization of society which has now been initiated prompted Bienek to state that democracy and socialism are incompatible. During the subsequent discussion about the term socialism, the professor from Moscow hinted that currently there are no clear ideas about this in Moscow. The admission of other parties, which was cited as a precondition for democratization by Broszats, is no topic for discussion at the moment. Rather, the slogan is: "Return to the principles of Lenin."

Bienek pointed out to the visitor from Moscow that the system that was founded by Lenin has little in common with a democracy characterized by the separation of powers and the rule of law.

Not only Stalin but also Lenin suppressed the opposition cruelly; Lenin eliminated the elected councils and ordered the uprising of the sailors of Kronshtadt to be crushed.

According to Dashichev, the Kronshtadt uprising led to a change in Lenin's policy, which was later continued by Stalin. Deviating from the official line of the Soviet party organizations, he stated that the Hitler-Stalin pact could have been avoided. There is no doubt as to the existence of the secret supplementary agreement, which has not been admitted by Moscow so far. Asked about the Katyn massacres, which were only recently described as a German crime by the Soviet press, Dashichev pointed out: "We must remove the burdens that strain relations between Russians and Poles."

A policy of intervention, as pursued by Stalin and also by Khrushchev and Brezhnev, is no longer conceivable, Dashichev stressed. In former times, interventions were justified by arguments that resulted from a "primitive understanding of class struggle." Moscow has meanwhile realized that in view of the nuclear threat priority must be given to the vital interests of mankind. Bienek referred to this in his closing statement and ended the discussion with the rhetorical question as to whether socialism will not be deprived of its ideological basis if the "postulate of class struggle" is abandoned.

Odessa Garment Factory Declared Bankrupt

LD1811001288 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Odessa November 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Veprik:

A large garment factory has been declared bankrupt in the city of Odessa on the Black Sea. This is a new development in Soviet economic life since the introduction of reforms.

The bank declared the plant insolvent when it failed to pay state taxes in time and floundered in huge indebtedness to its suppliers. This situation was brought about by the factory's lag in modernization.

Not so long ago the state used to interfere to help shoddy managers. With perestroyka under way every manager has to prove his efficiency.

"We'll try to find a way out", plant's director Vladimir Kramarenko said. "We are now selling some raw materials we had in stock that we won't need in the near future. We'll thus raise eight million roubles. We'll also get some money by selling new products, we are pulling out all stops to boost production now. If they sell well, we hope the bank resumes our crediting."

The factory will have to be shut down if the managers fail to raise the money. To be more specific, the plant will be handed over to lease-holders. The previous experience has shown that loss-making state enterprises, when leased, boost production through managerial cuts and more efficient work.

Scientific

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to 'Mir' Cosmonauts
LD2811201888 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has conveyed cordial greetings and sincere congratulations to the international crew of the orbital research complex Mir in connection with the successful start of their joint work.

Gorbachev said in a message to the cosmonauts: "You have the honour of carrying out the second joint Soviet-French space flight. Your mission is of great scientific and technological importance for our countries. It graphically demonstrates the fruitfulness and potential of Soviet-French cooperation and symbolises traditional mutual sympathies flet by our peoples."

The Soviet leader expressed confidence that the cosmonauts would succeed in fulfilling their assignment.

Gorbachev wished the Soviet-French crew success in implementing the programme of joint studies and experiments and a safe return to earth.

Cosmonauts Undertake Weightlessness Experiments
LD2911132388 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Soviet-French crew's working day aboard the orbiting platform Mir today will last from 11:00 till 23:00 Moscow time.

Medico-biological experiments feature prominently in their plans for the day.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien have begun a series of studies on humans' adaptation to weightlessness.

The French cosmonaut is undergoing an examination involving an echograph, during which ultra sound is used to obtain the characteristics of his cardiac activity and the flow of blood in the blood vessels of inner organs is studied.

Using a mockup of a flying craft control panel, the cosmonauts will perform an experiment to evaluate a pilot's performance and study the peculiarities of interaction between the eyes and the muscles in zero gravity.

Space ionizing radiation in different sections of the orbiting complex will also be studied during the day.

Seven observation sessions are planned for today under an astrophysics research program codenamed Roentgen. They will focus on the supernova in the Large Magellanic Cloud.

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov are helping the new arrivals with their studies and sharing their experience of using various equipment and instruments on Mir.

According to the cosmonauts' reports from orbit and telemetry data, the flight is proceeding normally.

The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Further on Experiments
LD3011223188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet-French crew is continuing its work in space. Today their program includes a routine series of medical and biological studies. To obtain information about the adaptation of cosmonauts to weightlessness, the crew is carrying out an experiment which has been prepared jointly with specialists of our country, France, and the CSSR. Echo-sounder [ekhograficheskiy] research which being undertaken by a French cosmonaut will today be supplemented with the use of the Chiblis suit. The Fizali experiment is being conducted with the aim of further research into the role of the human sensory organs in guiding the muscles during weightlessness.

Research has also been begun on board the "Mir" complex into the influence of space flight factors on the development of higher plants and various biological objects. Cosmonauts Titov, Mararov, Polyakov, Volkov, Krikalev, and Chretien feel good. Work in orbit is proceeding according to the normal schedule.

Space Cooperation Protocol With France
LD2611141788 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—TASS special correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov reports from the Baykonur cosmodrome:

Preparatory work has been completed to draft a project for developing joint Soviet-French space technology. A protocol of Soviet and French working groups which studied this question, is ready and will be signed evidently right after the Soviet-French blast-off by Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the USSR Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research, and Jacques-Louis Lions, president of the French centre for Space Research.

Aleksandr Dunayev who made this statement to Soviet and foreign journalists at the cosmodrome today, pointed out that the the schedule of constructing the European spacecraft Hermes (at the earliest in 1999) enabled the sides to develop, without a hurry, joint docking units for the spacecraft of the two countries.

Leading experts of the French centre who had come to the cosmodrome of Friday, were also at a meeting with journalists. Philippe Quar, director of manned programmes and the Hermes project, confirmed readiness of the French side to get down in 1992-1993 to designing joint means of docking between Hermes and the Mir station. He noted that the French centre also planned to develop docking units compatible with U.S. spacecraft.

In turn, Aleksandr Dunayev expressed in a friendly but rather unequivocal form his opinion on ways of cooperation in manned flights. "It is high time for all space powers," he said, "to come together and settle the question of whether we need such spaceships whose docking ports are unable to receive ships of other countries."

Glavkosmos Chief Dunayev on Shuttle Program

PM3011164588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Two Steps Away From 'Buran'"]

[Text] Baykonur cosmodrome—The post-flight examination of the "Buran" spacecraft, which went into near-earth orbit 2 weeks ago with the assistance of an "Energiya" rocket and made an automatic landing on the cosmodrome's concrete strip, is nearing completion. Not suprisingly, the thoughts of the many Soviet and foreign journalists invited to attend the launch of the Soviet-French expedition were simultaneously trained on the launch site, where the Soviet and French flags were fluttering, and on the test and assembly building, where the spacecraft was taken immediately after landing.

"Don't worry, friends," A. Dunayev, USSR main space administration chief, reassured the journalists during their meeting with Soviet and French specialists. "All is not lost. So far, unfortunately, our prelaunch schedule has not coincided with the 'Buran' test personnel's work timetable. But some details concerning its condition can now be reported. What concerns you principally, of course, is how the heat shield behaved on encountering the dense layers of the atmosphere. I can honestly say that the designers did not expect such a brilliant result: Of the 38,000 facing tiles only 5 fell off during the flight. The craft's other systems took the dynamic and heat stress well."

"Will the next flight be automatic or manned?"

"At the present stage of tests," came the reply, "both options have their pros and cons. Some specialists believe that it is advisable to have another automatic flight with a complicated task to perform. And they have a point. Indeed, the automatic program has acquitted itself brilliantly: At the moment the craft halted on the strip the time deviation from the target was only 1 second, and the axis of the craft deviated from the axis of the strip by only 1.5 meters."

Journalists wanted to know why the craft's orbiting altitude (250 km) had "not reached" the orbit of the "Mir" station. The designers had not set out to do that, apparently.

Software Used in 'Buran' Flight Described

LD3012201388 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—More than 700 various computer programs employed in the designing of the Soviet reusable spacecraft Buran will now serve the national economy.

"Buran's test flight and especially its automatic landing would have been impossible without skillfully designed software for the ground control and the vehicle's onboard computer systems", the deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Computer Technology and Informatics has said.

Vyacheslav Korchagin said in a TASS interview that the USSR, "though not leading the world in computerization, is by no means an outsider."

"Soviet mathematicians and programmers are skilled enough to design software which is sold abroad", he went on, quoting as an example a software package to process seismic data recently sold to India and some European countries and other applied packages for medical equipment to diagnose heart activity and prognosticate insults. [sentence as received]

A so-called "Russian" or R-technology of graphic programming has been adopted as an international standard, Korchagin explained.

The technology is based on visual recording of algorithms and programs in the form of drawings, sketches and diagrams.

As compared with conventional recording methods, the graphic technology saves a computer's memory capacity and may cut the time of designing a program up to seven times.

Companies in Austria, Italy and the United States are currently negotiating purchses of R-technology software.

According to Korchagin, "the top priority in developing the USSR's information potentiality is to design as much standard software as possible and use the software industry's capacity more efficiently."

Austrian Space Flight Agreement Signed

LD2411225988 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna November 24 TASS—An agreement on a joint Soviet-Austrian space flight was signed here today. The mission will be prepared and executed on a commercial basis.

The agreement includes provisions on the selection with the involvement of Soviet experts of two Austrian candidates to become cosmonauts, on their training for the flight, on scientific equipment to be provided by the Austrian side, the delivery of the Austrian cosmonaut and equipment to the Soviet orbiting platform Mir, and a series of research experiments there, among other things.

Soviet and Austrian representatives said at the signing ceremony that the agreement is a very important step in bilateral practical and scientific cooperation in space exploration.

Cosmos-1982 Earth Satellite Launched 30 Nov

LD3011142088 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—An earth satellite of the Cosmos series was launched by the Soviet Union today using a Soyuz booster rocket to continue exploration of outer space.

The satellite, Cosmos-1982, has been placed in the orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution—90.4 minutes,

—maximum distance from the earth's surface—
403 kilometers,

—minimum distance—215 kilometers,

—inclination of the orbit—70 degrees.

In addition to research equipment, the satellite is carrying a radio system for the precise measurement of orbit elements and a radio telemetry system for the transmission of data on the operation of the instruments and reserch equipment to ground control.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

'Mechta' Transport Plane To Carry 250-Ton Payload

LD3011205588 Mocow TASS in English 1503 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Kiev November 30 TASS—A new Soviet aircraft called "Mechta" ("Dream") will be able to take off with 250 tons of freight—a lot more than the world's current heaviest-lift plane Antonov-124, or "Ruslan", which has a load capacity of 170 tons.

The new turbojet, whose official designation is the Antonov-225, rolled out of an assembly shop here for the first time today for the benefit of reporters.

Chief designer Petr Balabuyev from the Oleg Antonov organization, which has developed the plane, told them that the superheavy lifter's overall takeoff weight is 600 tons, with speed amounting to between 700 to 850 kilometers per hour and the flying range to 4,500 kilometers.

It is fitted out with six engines, as compared with "Ruslan" 's four.

"Mechta" has been designed to carry very large cargoes, for example the space shuttle Buran and parts of the Energiya booster, piggyback and its cargo bay can easily hold up to 80 Lada cars.

The control panel is comparatively small as the crew of six will be aided by dozens of computers. All of these, just like the other instruments and materials used to build the plane, are Soviet-made.

Fuel-efficient "Mechta" will need much less fuel per flying time unit than "Ruslan".

Just like the latter and "Antei", also designed by the Antonov organization, "Mechta" will find many uses primarily in Siberia, the extreme north and the Far East of the Soviet Union where heavy building structures and equipment often have to be delivered to hard-of-access construction sites.

Besides, the new plane is to be employed on international routes, for example the transsiberian one providing the shortest way between Europe and Japan. "Ruslan" has made several trial flights with freight containers there this year.

Military

Chervov Cited on Soviet Military Doctrine

AU2911105488 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 29 Nov 88 p 4

["From the lecture given by Colonel General Chervov," chief of the Treaty and Legal Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces, "at the military science symposium at the Vienna National Defense Academy" on 28 November: "The Supreme Goal Is the Prevention of War; Effects of Military Doctrine on the Practical Work of the Red Army"]

[Text] Both the political and the military side of today's Soviet military doctrine are strictly coordinated with each other. The military and technical aspects are subordinate to the political ones. Both have a uniform, defensive orientation. This is expressed in their definition itself, in our essential political and strategic goals to prevent war.... Why has this been done? First of all, because in the nuclear age war is not a suitable means for achieving political goals. War will lead to disaster.

At present the efforts to prevent war are not only manifested in the obligations we have undertaken at the political level, but also in the general tendency of our military structure, military planning, and the training of our Armed Forces....

In asking how many armed forces are necessary to repel an act of aggression, we proceed from the principle of reasonable defensive sufficiency. With regard to strategic offensive weapons, the principle of defensive sufficiency means a balance in these weapons between the USSR and the United States. Their structure can be different; the potential possibilities, however, must be equal at any level of reduction, in line with the effectiveness of the use of those weapons.

For conventional weapons and armed forces, defensive sufficiency means maintaining a combat strength enabling both sides to repel potential acts of aggression, but, at the same time, not threatening the other side and not enabling one party to carry out an attack. This means orienting the armed forces toward a nonoffensive structure, limiting the stock of offensive weapon systems, changing the groups of armed forces and their deployment by taking into account defensive tasks, and reducing the scope of arms production.

Because we are guided by the principle of defensive sufficiency, we have proposed a three-stage program for the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe. The first stage: identification and elimination of the existing asymmetries in the armed forces of both alliances; the second stage: considerable general reductions of the armed forces down to the agreed upon level—for instance, by 500,000 men on both sides; the third stage: orienting the armed forces of both sides toward a purely defensive structure and defensive organization.

We are willing to exchange the necessary data in order to ascertain the actual balance of power in Europe; we are willing to exchange figures for negotiations; and we are also willing to establish mutual inspections to verify the starting data....

In discussing the training methods of the Soviet Armed Forces to repel an act of aggression, one must keep in mind that it has never been our intention to be the first to unleash a war. Based on the experiences of World War II, until the most recent past we did, however, orient our plans toward repelling an act of aggression both through defensive as well as offensive actions.

Taking into consideration the concerns of the West, we have meanwhile revised our strategy. In the event of an act of aggression, defensive operations will be the basic method of military actions by the Soviet Armed Forces at the beginning of a war. Defense is the focal issue in the training of our Army. Correspondingly, the methods for the use of the Armed Forces on land, in the air, and at sea are being revised. The basic documents that provide guidelines for our Armed Forces, including combat rules, are also being revised.

Polish Military Official on Army Anniversary

WA1801O119 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by General of Armored Troops Thadeus Shatsilo, chairman of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Armed Forces and PPR Deputy Minister of National Defense: "Defending Peaceful Labor" under the "People's Polish Armed Forces, 45th Anniversary" heading]

[Text] This October 12th marks the 45th anniversary of the historic combat engagement near Lenino, Belorussia, fought by the 1st Polish Infantry Division named after Thadeus Kosciusko. On that day, the new army of the Polish people was born. That engagement, in which Poles fought alongside Soviet Army soldiers, was a turning point in the struggle for national and social liberation. It marked a new beginning in the Polish-Soviet military and political relationship, laying the foundation for the present Polish-Soviet camaraderie in arms and friendship.

The Shortest Path of All

The engagement at Lenino is an important event in contemporary Polish history. It came as a consequence of the political and military situation on World War II fronts, where Polish soldiers were building the path to their country's liberation. As is well-known, fascist Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. The Polish Army was defeated and the country occupied by Hitlerite troops. But the people did not put up with oppression, nor did they lay down their arms. Poles fought Hitlerism everywhere their fate took them.

After the lost September 1939 campaign, Polish military units were formed first in France and then in Great Britain. Polish armed forces in the West took part in the battle for Narvik in 1940, the Battle of Britain, the African campaign (the battle for Tobruk) and military operations on the Apennine peninsula (the battle for Monte Cassino), as well as in Normandy, the Flanders and northern Germany.

In addition, partisan units, such as Armiya Krayova, the guards and Armiya Lyudova, Khlopskiye, battalions and other units in the occupied country, were a real military force, as were Polish units active in the resistance nearly everywhere in Europe.

In that military saga, a special place belongs to the 1st Army of the Polish Armed Forces formed in the USSR. It was the first division of that army that saw action at Lenino. This is the reason why every year on 12 October, on the anniversary of that engagement, we celebrate the Polish Army Day. It is a day dedicated to the memory of the Polish-Soviet struggle against fascism, a day to honor the fallen.

The core of the Polish Army in the liberated country was formed by combining the Polish Army that came from the USSR with Armiya Lyudova partisans and bolstered by fighters from other partisan units and by universal conscription in liberated areas. In the closing months of the war the Polish Army grew in number and strength. As a result, the Poland defeated in 1939 was among the victors at the end of the war, possessing an army 400,000 strong in the East and 200,000 strong in the West. Poland contributed significantly to the defeat of German fascism and its own liberation. This is why the words of the historic order of the commander in chief of the Polish Army issued on May 9, 1945, the day of victory over fascism, ring so true:

"...Your labors on the battlefield have not been wasted. You won a great prize for Poland, the restitution of our ancient lands and a firm alliance with the Soviet Union, the cornerstone of our security for the future...."

Poland has guarded this great prize with honor and determination; it has been the motivation behind the selfless service of all generations of soldiers.

For the People and the State

Forty-five years have passed since the day Polish soldiers had their baptism by fire on the Soviet soil. From this vantage point, it is easier to assess the contribution of the people's Polish Army to the development of the people's state and to sum up, as it were, the achievements of its service to the motherland and its people.

Today, we have many achievements on which national pride can draw. The first is the fact that Poland's soldiers, alone among the states in the anti-Hitler coalition, stood alongside Soviet warriors over the ruins of conquered Berlin. This crowned Poland's contribution to the struggle against fascism and fully confirmed that the choice of Poland's political and social future as an ally and friend of the Soviet Union was a right one. As a former frontline officer of the Polish Army and currently the leader of our state, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, has stated many years later, thanks to the party we did not let that historic moment slip away, the moment that had a determining significance for the future of the people and the country; instead, the Polish soldier was in Berlin, in the thick of history, and was able to shape the revolutionary history of the people.

This is a basic truth familiar to every citizen of our country. From the day of its inception and in the postwar period, the people's Polish Army has always been a true servant of socialist Poland.

Soldiers took part in setting up state entities in liberated territories, carried out the party program, implemented goals stated in the Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation and explained the principles of the worker-peasant alliance. Thousands of soldiers took part in carrying out agricultural reform, settling restituted lands, reconstructing and restarting factories and plants, rebuilding destroyed cities and villages and laying foundations and creating the material base for the socialist system.

As the commander in chief's order stated, we never asked whether or not manuals or military theories developed in academies had envisioned soldiers plowing, planting and harvesting for peasants, fighting for order and security and taking upon themselves the task of defending the lives of citizens; or else, having put down the rifle and taken up a book or a newspaper instead, going to the people with the words of explanation and truth. Did they envision a situation whereby Poland would have to be defended not only with guns, but also with plowshares, hammers, words, and personal example?

These words correctly reflect the role, the character, and the class responsibilities of the people's Polish Army. Its responsibilities remain much the same now. The ideological makeup of our socialist army was forged and strengthened by active military duty, labor for the benefit of the country, the process of implementation of revolutionary changes and struggle against class enemy. The patriotic and internationalist consciousness of soldiers was bolstered, their ties with the society deepened and military training improved.

In the past decades, PPR Armed Forces indefatigably enhanced their combat readiness as required by the very real threats they faced, maintaining it on a necessary, yet sufficient level. This stems from the defensive nature of our nation and alliance's military doctrine. We train and educate our armed forces to conform to the principles of the defensive military doctrine.

Military and political conditions for maintaining a defensive stance have improved considerably since the years of cold war, universal distrust, and hostility. A qualitatively new situation has arisen whose distinctive characteristic is a rapprochement and dialogue between the East and the West. The peaceful initiatives of the USSR and other socialist states strive to end the arms race, free humankind from nuclear weapons, and create a system of mutual trust in international relations. A significant part of these aspirations is the Jaruzelski plan, proposed by the head of our state and supreme commander of PPR Armed Forces. This initiative, which is in line with proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and whose aim is to reduce danger and promote mutual trust in Central Europe, has received international acclaim.

The role of the people's army in the life of our society is great even in peacetime. Training and organizational, ideological-political, and cadre achievements of the people's Polish Army, as well as its deep ties with the people, ensure a high standing of our army in the society, in all spheres of public life.

The society highly values the contribution of its army to the national economy as well as to public life, culture, and science. This clearly shows the character of an army of a new type and its domestic function, as well as its humanist nature.

Proof of this is the work of thousands of soldiers at construction projects around the country and their assistance in agriculture, the activities of military public figures and the work of scientists, artists, physicians, engineers, and many other specialists in uniform, their labor benefiting all citizens and entire Poland. Soldiers of the Polish Army and party and youth organizations in the military actively and broadly participate in the task of carrying out the policy of socialist renewal, implementing economic reform, and achieving democratization of all aspects of life begun by the 9th United Polish Workers' Party (PZPR) Congress and developed at the 10th Congress; they implement goals set by the 7th and 8th PZPR Central Committee Plenums to systematically overcome difficulties in the socioeconomic development of the country.

The revolutionary restructuring program formulated by the CPSU has received great support in our country. This support was manifested by the cordial and warm atmosphere during the July visit to Poland of the CPSU Central Committee's General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as well as by considerable results of that visit, which will help deepen the friendship and cooperation between the PPR and the USSR. Changes under way in our country help strengthen the leading role of the party in the armed forces, make military service and life more humane, use the society's assets more rationally, and achieve full implementation of the principle "a soldier is a comrade in arms to other soldiers." At the same time, it remains a matter of military and party honor to serve honestly, maintain a high level of combat readiness and ideological knowledge in the army, and to remain vigilant against political enemy, thereby corroborating the army's loyalty to socialist Poland.

A special form of carrying out domestic functions of our armed forces is ideological training—both in their own ranks and in the society, especially among the young people. Soldiers exert influence by the force of their example, devoted service and labor, mature political conscience, civic virtues, and socialist patriotism.

The quality of our army primarily depends on the level of military, ideological-political, and professional training of its officers, senior noncommissioned staff, and noncommissioned officers. Today's Polish Army has at its disposal high-quality military cadres capable to promptly carry out defense responsibilities in accordance with the demands of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. The cadres of highly professional servicemen guarantee correct development of our armed forces, maintenance of the requisite level of combat readiness, selection of correct directions in the training and education of servicemen, fulfillment of the general functions of the armed forces in the state, as well as successful implementation of defensive duties within the framework of the alliance.

A Friendship of Allies

Poland's ability to defend itself and security, its international position and outlook for further development are determined by its alliance and close cooperation with other socialist states. Primarily, it is camaraderie in arms and indissoluble ties with the Soviet Army and the alliance of our state with the Land of Soviets. It is very important for the task of preserving peace.

As mentioned above, the Polish-Soviet camaraderie in arms was born, strengthened and sealed by the blood shed in the battle against fascism, from Lenino to Berlin. The years of peaceful friendship have become a natural extension, development and deepening of multifaceted cooperation between the two fraternal armies.

The people's armed forces, established on the Soviet soil with the personnel, material, and technical support of the Land of Soviets, was developed and improved thanks to this assistance that continued after hostilities were over. The scope of this mutually profitable cooperation broadened after the Warsaw Pact was established and its armed forces were created.

This noteworthy fact formed the basis for a new stage in the process of practical implementation of the Leninist principle of international cooperation. Our participation in the Warsaw Pact allows us to use socialist fraternity's most advanced means and scientific and technological achievements and benefit from experience tested in practice. This allows us to jointly coordinate and focus efforts on selected directions, which in turn helps find the best solutions for the defense capabilities of our country.

The past several decades have provided a good example of expanded cooperation and coordination between the people's Polish Army and its Soviet comrades in arms, as well as soldiers of the armies of other socialist countries. One would only need to mention the joint space flights and exchanges of experience by specialists of different service arms and services. Exchange programs for military academy students, meetings of party and political officers and youth organization volunteers, joint field training missions by fraternal army units, and joint exercises belong in the same category. This helps strengthen further the ties of friendship among the armies and the peoples of socialist countries.

The Polish Army celebrates its 45th anniversary together with the entire people. It shares all the cares, concerns, and successes of the people. This year we mark the army's holiday in a businesslike mood. Soldiers' work and exemplary fulfillment of our military and social duties are a way to show our support for reforms initiated by the PZPR.